# LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY

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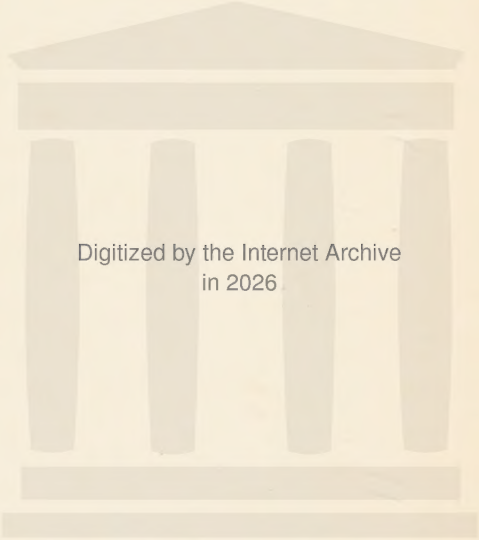
AND
NOONAN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# LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEALS AS RECORDED IN SPEECHES FROM

## OTIS TO HUGHES

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

ROBERT P. ST. JOHN

AND

RAYMOND L. NOONAN

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# PREFACE

THE editors of this book have tried to gather in a single volume as many as possible of the great speeches that have had an important influence on the growth of American political ideals. Had the limits of their volume permitted, they would have begun with Cromwell and would have traced the growth of our institutions from their English sources. As it is they have begun with the first evidence of alienation from the Mother Country and have followed the story to the close of the Great War. Speeches of much historical importance, such as those that discussed the adoption of the Constitution, have necessarily been omitted. The speeches here included, however, it is believed constitute a series sufficiently complete to give students a more intimate knowledge of our national life and a new appreciation of the sacrifice and labor that produced the American political fabric.

Many teachers maintain that the reading of speeches in a collection can be made more valuable than the prolonged study of one or two orations. A sufficiently large number of selections, they say, permits the instructor to make use of comparative methods of study that are both stimulating and interesting. As pupils read the speeches, the teacher can emphasize, as the welfare of the class seems to demand, historical significance, the ideals of good citizenship, oral expression, rhetorical structure, or the principles of argument and persuasion. It is not unlikely, moreover, that this volume can be used with profit even



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by those instructors who prefer to have pupils engage in the detailed study of one or two great speeches rather than undertake a course in comparative reading, for the volume contains material sufficiently diverse to satisfy every taste.

The editors wish to acknowledge with thanks the permission of President Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Otto H. Kahn to print speeches included in this book. *The Call to Arms,* by H. H. Asquith, was included through permission obtained from *The Current History Magazine,* published by the New York Times Company. The editors are also indebted to the New York Times Company for permission to print Premier Lloyd George's speech on *America's Entrance into the War.*

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# INTRODUCTION

The years that have followed the Great War have been notable for widespread interest in the theories of government. A new desire to study national problems has become evident throughout the world. In America in particular, young and old have shown an unprecedented interest in social ideals and in the meaning and aims of democracy. Soap-box orators, unpractical pacifists, and unwise teachers have been quick to seize the opportunity to taint the patriotism of those who would learn. Beyond all question, therefore, it is the duty of American teachers to combat this propaganda with a true account of the rise and progress of democracy. Our new citizens should be taught that it was not unoccupied land or the Indians that made America a free country. How painfully the human race has won the liberty under which we live; what it has cost in physical endeavor, mental struggle, and blood, it is at this time our manifest duty to teach boys and girls.

In schools and colleges instruction in patriotism can well be based on a study of the great speeches which step by step mark the world's progress toward democracy. Here we find literature and history combined. Here the many facts and truths of history are not only still lighted with the spirit of the past but they are also clothed with the language of art. Just as battles record for the student of military science the crises and conclusions of physical struggles for the

world's freedom, so great speeches mark for the statesman and thinker the triumphs of mind and spirit in their struggles with the foes of progress.

For the use of young and imaginative students the best record of history is found in the speeches that helped make it. Unfortunately the record is incomplete. But where speeches exist marking the crises through which the world has passed in its progress towards popular government, they should be carefully preserved and studied because of their power to recreate the past. Speeches give more than conclusions. They state the problem and suggest a solution which for the time being is wavering in the balance. As the student reads the words of the orator, he is able to enter personally into the struggle. He weighs the interests that are at stake and trembles for the result. As he reads speech after speech he discovers that liberty is not a matter of course, but has been wrung from enemies bit by bit through blood and sweat. Through the words of the orator he learns to value the inheritance handed down to him from the past and gains a personal appreciation of the services of those master minds whose heroic struggles have helped to make the world safe for him.

Speeches are real and intense dramas of life and history. The orator often faces opposition as relentless as a play hero is supposed to meet in his make-believe world. When a great orator prepares to speak, he takes into consideration all the elements of his audience and the occasion. He plans by making use of every resource in his power to meet the forces of evil as they assail him, step by step. He may fail; but if his cause is essential to the progress of liberty and democracy, the contest is not lost. Another hero takes up the struggle and sooner or later wins; for

civilization is ever moving toward something better and will continue to do so irresistibly. The best record of many of the most important events in history is found in the world's great speeches and their dramatic environment.

The chief characteristic of speeches, as compared with other forms of literature or other documents that record history, is that the end and aim of speeches is action. Founded on the past, they look always into the future. The giving of information, the gratification of artistic desire, inspiration itself, are of minor importance in oratory unless they influence conduct. It is the duty of the orator, in the face of opposition, to induce men to adopt a new course of action. This is true even on those occasions when the rights and liberties of men are apparently not at stake. Conservatism, sloth, and greed are often as hard to combat as visible enemies. Webster found it quite as difficult to induce his fellow-citizens to emulate in their daily lives the deeds of the men who fought at Bunker Hill, as he did to vanquish Hayne and his associates in Congress when they threatened to overthrow the Union. Beecher's most difficult task at Liverpool was not to control his visible opponents who sought to break up the meeting, but to induce his hearers to forego their own personal profit for the sake of moral ideals. The purpose of every orator is to induce men, in spite of opposition visible or invisible, to enter upon a new course of action. The essential characteristic of oratory is persuasion.

The speeches contained in this volume clearly illustrate the fact that persuasion is the end and aim of oratory. These speeches helped to make the world safe for democracy, not through arguments that convinced the intellect, but through persuasive appeals that led

to action. The skill with which an orator adapts his methods of appeal to his audience determines the force of his oratory. As a means of persuasion, argument is to be reckoned with tone, with gesture, with allusion, and with all the various forms of connotation. It may be chief among these; but if it stands alone and is not emotionally persuasive; it is dead. A brilliant speaker may win our intellectual assent for each idea he advances, we may perceive the desirability of every reform he advocates, and yet we may not be moved to initiate one reform or to correct one existing abuse. Through argument an orator may win the consent of the intellect; he can never subdue the will or lead to action until he appeals to the emotions.

The significance of this fact is neglected in schools and colleges, although it is duly appreciated in business and in the world generally. The salesman and the advertiser attempt to subdue the will without being controversial. The business man is suspicious of argument, but he is the friend of persuasion. Teachers, on the other hand, have almost crowded persuasion from the rhetorics and the schools. As an aspect of discourse, it has received unmerited neglect, and argument has been unduly stressed.

In the study of Burke, for example, we have for years made exhaustive analyses of his argument. We have followed the course of his logic to the smallest capillary of evidence. At this moment the argumentive skeleton of his discourse is carefully housed in many a teacher's closet. Such a study may not have been unprofitable, but it is better and more interesting to place the emphasis of our work in stating the persuasive problem that Burke faced, in observing the degree of skill that he used in attempting a solution, in noting the changes in conduct that he brought about, and

in pointing out the help that he gave in the world's struggle for democracy.

The teacher who uses this volume, therefore, should try to lay before his pupils whatever is necessary to a dramatic conception of the occasion. The famous words should again be illumined with life and reality. He should attempt to recreate the situation that called forth the speech and make his pupils clearly understand the problem that was before the orator when he rose to speak. The exact nature and force of the opposition, and whatever defines the audience and gives it its character and sympathies, should also be clear. With this data at his disposal, the student will be in a position both to appreciate the orator's skill in adapting his appeal to the prejudices and motives of his hearers and to understand his place in history.

In order that the final appreciation of the student may approach as nearly as possible to that of an intelligent member of the audience that listened to the message of the orator when it was first spoken, the teacher should use each speech as a basis for exercises in oral English. Through oral reading or declamation the class should discover that an oration cannot make its complete appeal as written literature. No small part of the orator's message is transmitted through his voice and presence.

The supreme object of the study of these speeches, we must remember, is not mere increased facility in English, important as that is, but fuller appreciation of the worth of democracy and deeper devotion to the duties of citizenship. Students who learn the significance in history of each of the great men whose words appear in this book, ought not to be satisfied with an intellectual assimilation of our national ideals or with

a passive pride in our country's achievements. The persuasive utterances that in the past induced men to struggle for liberty and democracy, should in the hands of loyal and enthusiastic teachers be able to inspire students with patriotism of a dynamic type. Pupils should learn from these speeches that governments that are democratic require from their citizens more than passive loyalty. Since the modern state is the people, the effective force of the state can be no greater than the sum of the public activity of its citizens. The final result of the study of the dramatic struggles recorded in this book, therefore, should be the conclusion on the part of pupils, that active cooperation in public affairs, is the best evidence of appreciation of the inheritance that has come down to us from the conflicts and heroism of other days.

# LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY

"Let your imagination range down the old famous roads of freedom. Powers of moral quickening come from communion with ancient heroism. I take delight in the Old Testament story which tells of a dead man being let down into the sepulchre of the prophet Elisha. 'And when he touched the bones of Elisha the man revived and stood upon his feet.' Whatever we may think of that story it is pregnant with moral and spiritual significance. It proclaims the vitalizing energies of the great and noble dead. We touch our heroic ancestry and invigorating virtue flows out of them And so, in these tremendous days of anxious and protracted conflict, let us let ourselves down into the sacred sepulchres of history, and seek communion with the honored dead. Let us touch the bones of Lincoln if perchance we may be revived and stand upon our feet. Let our minds and hearts sink down into his letters and speeches so that his vision may inspire our imaginations and his motives fortify our souls And let us touch the bones of Oliver Cromwell, for he being dead yet speaketh, and his words are spirit and life. Let us seek inspiration at great historic fonts. Seeing that we are compassed about by so great a cloud of witnesses, the faithful knightly warriors of other days, let us nerve our hearts in their heroisms, let us feed our wills on their exploits, and then with their virtuous blood running in our own veins, let us bravely turn to face the task and the menace of our own day."

JOHN HENRY JOWETT

# WRITS OF ASSISTANCE

February, 1761

America was settled largely by people who left their native lands in order to secure a greater degree of religious and political liberty. In the New World, separated by three thousand miles from the autocratic governments of Europe, they naturally found little reason to relinquish this love of freedom. In the leisure hours of the long winters many read the writings of Locke, Rousseau, and other authors who have set forth the ideals of democracy. Accordingly there gradually grew up in America, in addition to the common desire for practical political liberty, a widespread interest in the abstract theory of rights and government.

Under these circumstances it is natural that the thirteen colonies under British rule resented fiercely any interference with their personal rights. Especially after the French and Indian War the colonists were not only alert to criticize any act of Parliament that promised to imperil the liberty under which they had lived, but they also sought by such means as were within their power to obtain for the colonial assemblies new concessions and grants. At first they were content to build up their rights within the English Constitution and they had no thought of separation from the Mother Country. As late as the end of 1774 the Continental Congress in a petition to the King expressed its desire to conform in all respects to the

British Constitution. The colonial troops carried the King's colors as their flag until 1777. Indeed it is said that until near the close of the Revolution independence was advocated only by an aggressive minority.

James Otis's speech against the use of writs of assistance, in Boston, in 1761, marks the beginning of the struggle in which as yet the colonists sought merely the rights of Englishmen. The dispute with England originated in an attempt to regulate American commerce. The Navigation Acts of the British Parliament had required Americans to trade with the English only, and consequently to import only goods which paid a duty to the Mother Country. Both to avoid the expense of these duties and as a protest against the injustice of the trade laws the colonists had encouraged smuggling and had carried on an illicit trade with the Dutch. Not half the goods imported into America paid the duty. It cost the British government $35,000 to collect a revenue of $7,500. John Adams estimated that the loss of revenue by smuggling on molasses alone was $125,000 a year.

In 1761, in the hope of obtaining evidence that would convict the smugglers, the British government invoked writs of assistance. These writs had previously been used for other purposes in both England and America but had fallen into disuse. They were general warrants that in spite of the common law protecting the privacy of a man's home, authorized customs agents to make "diligent and complete" search of the property of suspected persons.

The advocate general at this time whose duty it was as the representative of the British Crown to support the writs of assistance was James Otis. He was not only a lawyer of great ability, but he was a man

of lofty principle and was a commanding figure among the colonists. That he might be free to oppose the dangerous and detested writs, he resigned his office. In their favor, however, his successor, Jeremy Gridley, presented an argument to a court who sat under Governor Hutchinson in the council chamber of the old Town House, Boston. About the massive table were ranged the five judges, clad in their rich robes of scarlet English broadcloth and wearing their large cambric bands and immense judicial wigs. Behind them were full length portraits of Charles II and James II arrayed in royal splendor. After Gridley had spoken, Oxenbridge Thatcher gave the argument for the people. Then Otis, the former officer of the Crown, arose to support Thatcher. The words of Adams gave most adequately the effect of his speech:

"Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes was then and there sown. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against the writs of assistance Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain."

At the conclusion of his speech Otis immediately found himself the leader of public thought in New England and the champion of constitutional rights in the colonies.

## WRITS OF ASSISTANCE

### James Otis

May it please your honors, I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have, accordingly, considered it, and now appear not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that was ever found in an English law book. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of argument [1] that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as the points of learning that are more remote and unusual; that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt.

I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle.[2] I was solicited to argue this cause as advocate-general; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as

it is in favor of British liberty, at the time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of history, cost one king of England his head [3] and another his throne. I have taken more pains in this cause than I ever will take again, although my engaging in this and another popular cause has raised much resentment. But I think that I can sincerely declare that I cheerfully submit myself to every odious name for conscience's sake; and from my soul I despise all those whose guilt, malice, or folly has made them my foes. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct that are worthy of a gentleman or a man are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of his country.

These manly sentiments, in private life, make the good citizen; in public life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say that when brought to the test I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if I ever should, it will be then known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth. In the meantime I will proceed to the subject of this writ.

Your honors will find in the old books concerning the office of a justice of the peace precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner I rely on it, that the

writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say that I admit that special writs of assistance to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some observations on the writ itself before I proceed to other acts of Parliament.

In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects:" so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the king's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission is legal, a tyrant in a legal manner, also, may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm.

In the next place, it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul.

In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime may enter all houses, shops, etc. at will, and command all to assist him.

Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan[4] with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation?

Now one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial

servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain.

I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he endorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from one officer to another, and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr. Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath Day Acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied: "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods;" and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar, and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ, if it should be established, I insist upon it that every person, by the 14th of Charles II,[5] has this power as well as the custom-house officers. The words are: "It shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill humor, or wantonness, to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house, may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood.[6]

In a brief statement tell how British liberty, according to Otis, was threatened by the use of writs of assistance.

Discuss the principle "A man's house is his castle." Has it any recognition in modern law?

Was Otis's opposition to writs of assistance based chiefly on financial, constitutional, moral, religious, or other reasons?

Do you think that Otis was unnecessarily alarmed?

Do you think that Otis was considered disloyal by most Englishmen of his time who were familiar with his speech?

Do you think that Otis himself believed that he was acting the part of a loyal British subject when he delivered this speech?

Do you think that in 1761 Otis seriously considered American independence as a means of combating injustice such as resulted from the British use of writs of assistance?

How did Otis come to occupy so prominent a place in the history of American independence?

Discuss the persuasive value of Otis's detailed account of the operation of the writs.

# AMERICAN TAXATION

January 14, 1766

THE fact that the British government had found it difficult to collect revenue from the colonies even though writs of assistance were used did not deter George III and his ministers from continuing to attempt to obtain money from America. Increased taxes on new sources of revenue were a necessity for the Empire.

The Seven Years War had increased the national debt to $700,000,000 and it had become necessary to maintain a great navy and large standing armies in both Europe and America. Inasmuch as a considerable portion of the annual budget was used to support troops to overawe the Indians and maintain the conquest of Canada it was thought reasonable by Grenville, the chancellor of the exchequer, that the colonies should share in the expense. Accordingly he proposed the Stamp Act, a measure designed to raise sufficient money to pay one-third of the annual cost of maintaining the army in America.

After the colonists had been given a year in which to consider the details of the measure, he met their agents and expressed a desire to alter the bill if he could make it more agreeable to their wishes. Benjamin Franklin said that the old constitutional method of asking the assemblies to grant funds was preferable to the system of involuntary contribution embodied in the Stamp Act. Grenville replied that in the past when

voluntary grants were in vogue the colonies had been unable to agree on the proportion of expense that each should bear, a fact that Franklin could not deny. The conference ended without material change in the proposed bill which was passed by the House of Commons with slight opposition in March 1765.

This act was planned to furnish a revenue of $300,000, all of which was to be applied toward the support of troops in America. The bill, however, was received by the colonists with great indignation. They were willing to contribute to the expenses of the Imperial government, if the King would ask the colonial assemblies to make grants; but they were unwilling to be taxed by Parliament so long as they were not represented in the House of Commons. Accordingly the Americans refused to use the stamped paper required by the law for nearly all commercial transactions. Business practically ceased. Rioting occurred in many cities, and criticism of the policy of the British ministry became daily more bitter.

On January 14, 1766, when Parliament assembled, the King's speech again asserted the right to tax America. Pitt was present although he had but recently recovered from a severe illness. Unfamiliar with the calendar, because of his absence of nearly a year, he did not know that American taxation was to be considered; but when the subject was discussed, so impressed was he by the seriousness of the moment that he spoke extemporaneously with all the fire that had made his earlier speeches famous. Many years of Parliamentary service and continuous study of conditions in America, made his words authoritative. His speech produced an immediate change in the official attitude toward America; and he was able within the next few weeks so to organize the advocates and lovers

of English liberty that on March 18, 1766, the obnoxious Stamp Act was repealed.

## AMERICAN TAXATION

### William Pitt, Earl of Chatham

It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried [1] in my bed—so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences—I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it! It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House; but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

I hope a day may soon be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his majesty recommends,[2] and the importance of the subject requires;[3] a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free.

I will only speak to one point—a point which seems not to have been generally understood, I mean to the *right*. Some gentlemen seem to have considered it as a point of honor. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over

the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England! Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary *gift* and *grant* of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the Crown to tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone.

In the ancient days, the Crown, the barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own! At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the Commons, is a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? "We, your majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty"—what? Our own property! No! "We give and grant to your majesty" the property of your majesty's Commons of America! It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation[4] is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown and the peers

are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown and the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough?—a borough which, perhaps, its own representative never saw! This is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It can not continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation [5] of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered the head of a man. It does not deserve a serious refutation.

The Commons of America represented in their several assemblies have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it! At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures, in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

Since the accession of King William, many ministers, some of great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government. None of these thought, or even dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the era of the late administration. Not that there were wanting some,

when I had the honor to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breast, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, an unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If not, he has misapplied the national treasures!

I am no courtier of America.[6] I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern. The greater must rule the less. But she must so rule it as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valor of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, which so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state and pull down the

Constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace—not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon [7] is united against you; while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manilas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer—a gentleman whose noble and generous spirit would do honor to the proudest grandee of the country?

The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example.

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned—viz., because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking money from their pockets without their consent.

What does Chatham recognize as the supreme legal authority and source of law for both England and America?

What were Chatham's reasons for considering the taxation of America the most important question that had come before the House of Commons since the days of the Stuarts?

What is the distinction made by Chatham between the right to tax and the right to legislate?

Does modern law recognize this distinction?

Point out persuasive elements in Chatham's speech. Did he understand the temper of Englishmen?

What statements in the last paragraph show that he did not understand the temper of Americans?

What evidence is there in Chatham's speech that a movement for the independence of America was already under way?

## WAR WITH AMERICA

February 6, 1775

The favorable impression created by the repeal of the Stamp Act was largely destroyed by the passage soon after of the Declaratory Act in which Parliament laid no import or duty but asserted its *right* to tax America. This action was a colossal blunder, inasmuch as it ignored the fact that the Americans had not refused to furnish money to support the government but had denied this very "right" of taxation which now was expressly reaffirmed. Before the end of the year, also, King George III, who had no sympathy with the democratic aspirations of the colonists, induced Parliament to lay new duties on tea and other articles imported by the Americans.

Continued disorder in America and decreasing trade again brought about the repeal in March, 1770, of all these duties except that on tea. The latter duty the King determined to retain, it is said, from a desire to "try the question with America." In the hope of making the tax more acceptable the duty was reduced to six cents a pound, which permitted tea to be sold in America at a cheaper price than in England. The colonists, however, who were seeking a democratic system of taxation rather than low taxes, refused to pay the decreased duty. A mob threw four ship loads of tea into Boston harbor. Incensed with their lack of respect for the royal authority, the King induced Parliament to take away the old charter of Massachusetts and to pass other acts of a drastic nature.

As these measures threatened to destroy English liberty in America, concerted action on the part of the colonists was demanded. On September 1, 1774, the Continental Congress met in Philadelphia and passed resolutions in which trade with England was boycotted. Nevertheless in a very calm and conciliating Petition to the King the Congress once more reaffirmed its loyalty to the Empire and asserted its willingness to pay all taxes justly levied in accordance with the English Constitution. Clashes between armed citizens and British troops, nevertheless, had already occurred more than once. On February 6, 1775, when John Wilkes rose in Parliament to speak it was clearly evident that America and the Mother Country were on the verge of war.

## WAR WITH AMERICA

### John Wilkes

I am surprised that in a business of so much moment as this before the House, respecting the British colonies in America, a cause which comprehends almost every question relative to the common rights of mankind, almost every question of policy and legislation, it should be resolved to proceed with so little circumspection, or rather with so much precipitation and heedless imprudence. With what temerity are we assured that the same men who have been so often overwhelmed with praises for their attachment to this country, for their forwardness to grant it the necessary succors, for the valor they have signalized in its defense, have all at once so degenerated from their ancient manners as to merit the appellation of seditious, ungrateful, impious rebels! But if such a

change has, indeed, been wrought in the minds of this most loyal people, it must at least be admitted that affections so extraordinary could only have been produced by some very powerful cause.' But who is ignorant, who needs to be told of the new madness that infatuates our ministers? Who has not seen the tyrannical counsels they have pursued for the last ten years? They would now have us carry to the foot of the throne[2] a resolution stamped with rashness and injustice, fraught with blood, and a horrible futurity. But before this be allowed them, before the signal of civil war be given, before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their fellow-subjects, I hope this House will consider the rights of humanity, the original ground and cause of the present dispute. Have we justice on our side? No; assuredly no. He must be altogether a stranger to the British Constitution who does not know that contributions are voluntary gifts of the people; and singularly blind not to perceive that the words "Liberty and property" so grateful to English ears, are nothing better than mockery and insult to the Americans, if their property can be taken without their consent. And what motive can there exist for this new rigor, for these extraordinary measures? Have not the Americans always demonstrated the utmost zeal and liberality whenever their succors have been required by the Mother Country?

In the last two wars they gave you more than you asked for, and more than their facilities warranted; they were not only liberal toward you, but prodigal of their substance. They fought gallantly and victoriously by your side, with equal valor, against our and their enemy, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe and America, the ambitious and faithless French, whom we now fear and flatter. And even now at a moment when you are planning their destruction, when you are brand-

ing them with the odious appellation of rebels, what is their language, what their protestation? Read, in the name of heaven, the late petition of the Congress to the King, and you will find "they are ready and willing, as they have ever been, to demonstrate their loyalty by exerting their utmost efforts in granting supplies and raising forces when constitutionally required." And yet we hear it vociferated by some inconsiderate individuals that the Americans wish to abolish the Navigation Act; that they intend to throw off the supremacy of Great Britain. But would to God those assertions were not rather a provocation than the truth! They ask nothing, for such are the words of their petition, but for peace, liberty, and safety. They wish not a diminution of the royal prerogative; they solicit not any new right. They are ready, on the contrary, to defend this prerogative, to maintain the royal authority, and to draw closer the bonds of their connection with Great Britain. But our ministers, perhaps to punish others for their own faults, are sedulously endeavoring, not only to relax those powerful ties, but to dissolve and sever them forever. Their address represents the Province of Massachusetts as in a state of actual rebellion. The other provinces are held out to our indignation, as aiding and abetting. Many arguments have been employed by some learned gentlemen among us to comprehend them all in the same offense, and to involve them all in the same proscription.

Whether their present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and just resistance to unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I shall not declare. But I well know what will follow,[3] nor, however strange and harsh it may appear to some, shall I hesitate to announce it, that I may not be accused hereafter of having failed in my duty to my country, on so grave an occasion, and at the

approach of such direful calamities. Know, then, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion; rebellion, indeed, appears on the back of a flying enemy, but revolution flames on the breastplate of the victorious warrior. Who can tell whether in consequence of this day's violent and mad address to his majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them, as well as by us; and whether in a few years the independent Americans may not celebrate the glorious era of the Revolution of 1775, as we do that of 1688? The generous effort of our forefathers for freedom, heaven crowned with success, or their noble blood had dyed our scaffolds, like that of Scottish traitors and rebels; and the period of our history which does us the most honor would have been deemed a rebellion against the lawful authority of the prince, not a resistance authorized by all the laws of God and man, not the expulsion of a detested tyrant.

I can no more comprehend the policy than acknowledge the justice of your deliberations. Where is your force, what are your armies, how are they to be recruited, and how supported? The single Province of Massachusetts has at this moment thirty thousand men, well trained and disciplined, and can bring in case of emergency ninety thousand into the field; and, doubt not they will do it, when all that is dear is at stake, when forced to defend their liberty and property against their cruel oppressors. The right honorable gentleman with the blue riband [4] assures us that ten thousand of our troops and four Irish regiments will make their brains turn in the head a little, and strike them aghast with terror. But where does the author of this exquisite scheme propose to send his army? Boston, perhaps, you may lay in ashes, or it may be made a strong garrison; but the province will be lost to you. You will hold Boston as you hold Gibraltar, in the midst of a country which will not be yours; the whole Ameri-

can continent will remain in the power of your enemies. Where your fleets and armies are stationed, the possession will be secured while they continue; but all the rest will be lost. In the great scale of empire, you will decline, I fear, from the decision of this day; and the Americans will rise in independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states—for they build on the solid basis of general public liberty.

How according to Wilkes were the Americans provoked to rebellion?

What rights did Wilkes believe the colonies wished England to grant them?

What reason did Wilkes give for believing that the Americans would gain independence and rise to great power?

Did his prophecy prove true in all details?

To what motives did Wilkes appeal in this speech?

## CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA

March 22, 1775

As the objectionable measures suggested by King George III were formulated by Lord North's ministry and passed one after another, discontent in America steadily increased. With a fine sarcasm one legislative body after another declared that the colonies would train soldiers in order to save the Mother Country the necessity of taxing Americans to provide troops for their defense. In nearly all the provinces companies of soldiers had in fact been equipped and drilled.

In Parliament Pitt, Wilkes, Barre, and others had espoused the cause of America in vain. The King and his ministry were determined, in the face of all expediency, to assert their right to tax America. The most that Lord North was willing to concede was that any colony should be exempted from taxation if it had granted for the common defense of the Empire an amount "according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such colony" satisfactory to the Government. Although this bill conferred on the assemblies merely the form of making grants and still retained for Parliament the right of taxation, the measure was intended to be conciliatory. As Parliament seemed for the moment inclined to consider a gentler policy, Burke seized the opportunity to offer, on March 22, 1775, conciliatory resolutions that met adequately nearly all the constitutional demands of the

colonists. The partition of the Empire would probably have been avoided had not the House of Commons by a vote of 270 to 78 rejected his proposals.

Members of Parliament who listened to Burke's words were not at the time sufficiently impressed to lend their votes, but many, after perusal of the printed speech, when it was too late, were won over to his views. Fox, an orator of the first rank and a contemporary of Burke was so thoroughly convinced of the justice and soundness of Burke's plan that he urged Members of Parliament "to peruse the Speech on Conciliation again and again, to study it, to imprint it on their minds, to impress it on their hearts." Although Burke's speech failed to secure for Americans the rights to which as English subjects they were entitled, it recorded in imperishable form the principles of a just and generous policy that must hereafter form a part of all humane and enlightened government.

## CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA

### Edmund Burke

1. I hope,[1] Sir, that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Chair, your good nature will incline you to some degree of indulgence toward human frailty. You will not think it unnatural that those who have an object depending which strongly engages their hopes and fears should be somewhat inclined to superstition. As I came into the House, full of anxiety about the event of my motion, I found, to my infinite surprise, that the grand penal bill, by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America, is to be returned to us from the other House. I do confess I could not help looking on this event as a fortunate omen. I look upon it as a sort of providential favor by which we are put once more in possession of our deliberative capacity, upon a business so very questionable

in its nature, so very uncertain in its issue. By the return of this bill, which seemed to have taken its flight forever, we are at this very instant nearly as free to choose a plan for our American government as we were on the first day of the session. If, Sir, we incline to the side of conciliation, we are not at all embarrassed, unless we please to make ourselves so, by any incongruous mixture of coercion and restraint. We are therefore called upon, as it were, by a superior warning voice, again to attend to America; to attend to the whole of it together; and to review the subject with an unusual degree of care and calmness.

2. Surely it is an awful subject, or there is none so on this side of the grave. When I first had the honor of a seat in this House, the affairs of that continent pressed themselves upon us as the most important and most delicate object of parliamentary attention. My little share in this great deliberation oppressed me. I found myself a partaker in a very high trust; and having no sort of reason to rely on the strength of my natural abilities for the proper execution of that trust, I was obliged to take more than common pains to instruct myself in everything which relates to our colonies. I was not less under the necessity of forming some fixed ideas concerning the general policy of the British Empire. Something of this sort seemed to be indispensable, in order, amidst so vast a fluctuation of passions and opinions, to concenter my thoughts, to ballast my conduct, to preserve me from being blown about by every wind of fashionable doctrine. I really did not think it safe or manly to have fresh principles to seek upon every fresh mail which should arrive from America.

3. At that period I had the fortune to find myself in perfect concurrence with a large majority in this House. Bowing under that high authority, and penetrated with the sharpness and strength of that early impression, I have continued ever since, without the least deviation, in my original sentiments. Whether this be owing to an obstinate perseverance in error, or to a religious adherence to what appears to me truth and reason, it is in your equity to judge.

4. Sir, Parliament, having an enlarged view of objects, made during this interval more frequent changes in their sentiments and their conduct than could be justified in a particular person upon the contracted scale of private information. But though I do not hazard anything approaching to censure on the

motives of former parliaments to all those alterations, one fact is undoubted—that under them the state of America has been kept in continual agitation. Everything administered as remedy to the public complaint, if it did not produce, was at least followed by, a heightening of the distemper; until, by a variety of experiments, that important country has been brought into her present situation—a situation which I will not miscall, which I dare not name, which I scarcely know how to comprehend in the terms of any description.

5. In this posture, Sir, things stood at the beginning of the session. About that time[2] a worthy member of great parliamentary experience, who in the year 1760 filled the chair of the American Committee with much ability, took me aside and, lamenting the present aspect of our politics, told me things were come to such a pass that our former methods of proceeding in the House would be no longer tolerated; that the public tribunal, never too indulgent to a long and unsuccessful opposition, would now scrutinize our conduct with unusual severity; that the very vicissitudes and shiftings of ministerial measures, instead of convicting their authors of inconstancy and want of system, would be taken as an occasion of charging us with a predetermined discontent which nothing could satisfy, while we accused every measure of vigor as cruel, and every proposal of lenity as weak and irresolute. The public, he said, would not have patience to see us play the game out with our adversaries: we must produce our hand. It would be expected that those who for many years had been active in such affairs should show that they had formed some clear and decided idea of the principles of colony government, and were capable of drawing out something like a platform of the ground which might be laid for future and permanent tranquillity.

6. I felt the truth of what my honorable friend represented, but I felt my situation, too. His application might have been made with far greater propriety to many other gentlemen. No man was indeed ever better disposed or worse qualified for such an undertaking than myself. Though I gave so far in to his opinion that I immediately threw my thoughts into a sort of parliamentary form, I was by no means equally ready to produce them. It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of government except from a seat of authority. Propositions are made not only ineffectually but somewhat

disreputably when the minds of men are not properly disposed for their reception; and for my part I am not ambitious of ridicule, not absolutely a candidate for disgrace.

7. Besides, Sir, to speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of[3] paper government, nor of any politics in which the plan is to be wholly separated from the execution. But when I saw that anger and violence prevailed every day more and more, and that things were hastening toward an incurable alienation of our colonies, I confess my caution gave way. I felt this as one of those few moments in which decorum yields to a higher duty. Public calamity is a mighty leveler, and there are occasions when any, even the slightest, chance of doing good must be laid hold on even by the most inconsiderable person.

8. To restore order and repose to an empire so great and so distracted as ours, is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding. Struggling a good while with these thoughts, by degrees I felt myself more firm. I derived, at length, some confidence from what in other circumstances usually produces timidity. I grew less anxious even from the idea of my own insignificance. For judging of what you are by what you ought to be, I persuaded myself that you would not reject a reasonable proposition because it had nothing but its reason to recommend it. On the other hand being totally destitute of all shadow of influence, natural or adventitious, I was very sure that if my proposition were futile or dangerous, if it were weakly conceived or improperly timed, there was nothing exterior to it of power to awe, dazzle, or delude you. You will see it just as it is and you will treat it just as it deserves.

9. The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination[4] of perplexing questions, or the precise marking of shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in

the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose by removing the ground of the difference and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the Mother Country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and, far from a scheme of ruling by discord, to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest which reconciles them to British government.

10. My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle. My plan therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendor of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents,[5] who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace among them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other until you knock down the hammer and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle.

11. The plan which I shall presume to suggest derives, however, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that[6] noble lord's project,—the idea of conciliation is admissible. First, the House, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, not-

withstanding the menacing front of our address, notwithstanding our heavy bills of pains and penalties,[7] that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty.

12. The House has gone further: it has declared conciliation admissible previous to any submission on the part of America. It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark and has admitted that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded. That right thus exerted is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it, something unwise or something grievous, since, in the midst of our heat and resentment we of ourselves have proposed a capital alteration; and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptionable, have instituted a mode that is altogether new, one that is indeed wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of Parliament.

13. The principle of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end; and this I shall endeavor to show you before I sit down. But for the present I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired either in effect or in opinion by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honor and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed he is wholly at the mercy of his superior; and

he loses forever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

14. The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide are these two: First, whether you ought to concede, and secondly, what your concessions ought to be. On the first of these questions we have gained, as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you, some ground. But I am sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, Sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the peculiar circumstances of the object[5] which we have before us, because after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature and to those circumstances, and not according to our own imaginations, not according to abstract ideas of right; by no means according to mere general theories of government, the resort to which appears to me in our present situation no better than arrant trifling. I shall therefore endeavor, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of these circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

15. The first thing that we have to consider with regard to the nature of the object is the number of people in the colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on that point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and color, besides at least 500,000 others who form no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. This, Sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high

or too low, is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world, that state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. While we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. While we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations.

16. I put this consideration of the present and the growing numbers in the front of our deliberation; because, Sir, this consideration will make it evident to a blunter discernment than yours, that no partial, narrow, contracted, pinched, occasional system will be at all suitable to such an object. It will show you that it is not to be considered as one of those *minima* which are out of the eye and consideration of the law; not a paltry excrescence of the state; not a mean dependent, who may be neglected with little damage and provoked with little danger. It will prove that some degree of care and caution is required in the handling such an object; it will show that you ought not in reason to trifle with so large a mass of the interests and feelings of the human race. You could at no time do so without guilt; and be assured you will not be able to do it long with impunity.

17. But the population of this country, the great and growing population, though a very important consideration, will lose much of its weight if not combined with other circumstances. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. This ground of their commerce indeed has been trod some days ago, and with great ability, by a distinguished person at your bar.[9] This gentleman, after thirty-five years—it is so long since he first appeared at the same place to plead for the commerce of Great Britain—has come again before you to plead the same cause, without any other effect of time than that to the fire of imagination and extent of erudition which even then marked him as one of the first literary characters of his age, he has added a consummate knowledge in the commercial interest of his country, formed by a long course of enlightened and discriminating experience.

18. Sir, I should be inexcusable in coming after such a person with any detail if a great part of the members who now fill

the House had not the misfortune to be absent when he appeared at your bar.[10] Besides, Sir, I propose to take the matter at periods of time somewhat different from his. There is, if I mistake not, a point of view from whence, if you will look at this subject, it is impossible that it should not make an impression upon you.

19. I have in my hand two accounts: one a comparative state of the export trade of England to its colonies as it stood in the year 1704 and as it stood in the year 1772; the other a state of the export trade of this country to its colonies alone as it stood in 1772, compared with the whole trade of England to all parts of the world, the colonies included, in the year 1704. They are from good vouchers; the latter period from the accounts on your table, the earlier from an original manuscript of Davenant, who first established the inspector-general's office, which has been ever since his time so abundant a source of parliamentary information.

20. The export trade to the colonies consists of three great branches: the African, which, terminating almost wholly in the colonies, must be put to the account of their commerce; the West Indian; and the North American. All these are so interwoven that the attempt to separate them would tear to pieces the contexture of the whole; and if not entirely destroy, would very much depreciate the value of all the parts. I therefore consider these three denominations to be what in effect they are, one trade.

21. The trade to the colonies, taken on the export side at the beginning of this century, that is, in the year 1704, stood thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Exports to North America and the West Indies | £483,265 |
| To Africa | 86,665 |
| | £569,930 |

22. In the year 1772, which I take as a middle year between the highest and lowest of those lately laid on your table, the account was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| To North America and the West Indies | £4,791,734 |
| To Africa | 866,398 |
| To which, if you add the export trade from Scotland, which had in 1704 no existence | 364,000 |
| | £6,022,132 |

23. From five hundred and odd thousand it has grown to six millions. It has increased no less than twelvefold. This is the state of the colony trade as compared with itself at these two periods within this century, and this is matter for meditation. But this is not all. Examine my second account. See how the export trade to the colonies alone in 1772 stood in the other point of view, that is, as compared to the whole trade of England in 1704.

| | |
|---|---|
| The whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, in 1704..... | £6,509,000 |
| Export to the colonies alone in 1772..... | 6,022,000 |
| Difference..... | £487,000 |

24. The trade with America alone is now within less than £500,000 of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of this century with the whole world! If I had taken the largest year of those on your table, it would rather have exceeded. But, it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance, that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude. Our general trade has been greatly augmented, and augmented more or less in almost every part to which it ever extended, but with this material difference, that of the six millions which in the beginning of the century constituted the whole mass of our export commerce, the colony trade was but one-twelfth part: it is now, as a part of sixteen millions, considerably more than a third of the whole. This is the relative proportion of the importance of the colonies at these two periods; and all reasoning concerning our mode of treating them must have this proportion as its basis, or it is a reasoning weak, rotten, and sophistical.

25. Mr. Speaker, I can not prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years. There are those alive whose memory might touch the two extremities. For instance, my Lord Bathurst

might remember all the stages of the progress. He was in 1704 of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things. He was then old enough *acta parentum jam legere, et quae sit poterit cognoscere virtus.*[11] Suppose, Sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth, foreseeing the many virtues which made him one of the most amiable, as he is one of the most fortunate, men of his age, had opened to him in vision that when in the fourth generation the third prince of the House of Brunswick had sat twelve years on the throne of that nation, which, by the happy issue of moderate and healing councils, was to be made Great Britain, he should see his son, Lord Chancellor of England, turn back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain, and raise him to a higher rank of peerage, while he enriched the family with a new one—if, amidst these bright and happy scenes of domestic honor and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him, "Young man, there is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!" If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect and cloud the setting of his day!

26. Excuse me, Sir, if, turning from such thoughts, I resume this comparative view once more. You have seen it on a large scale: look at it on a small one. I will point out to your attention a particular instance of it in the single province of Pennsylvania. In the year 1704 that province called for £11,459 in value of your commodities native and foreign.

This was the whole. What did it demand in 1772? Why, nearly fifty times as much; for in that year the export to Pennsylvania was £507,909, nearly equal to the export to all the colonies together in the first period.

27. I choose, Sir, to enter into these minute and particular details because generalities, which in all other cases are apt to heighten and raise the subject, have here a tendency to sink it. When we speak of the commerce with our colonies, fiction lags after truth, invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren.

28. So far, Sir, as to the importance of the object in the view of its commerce, as concerned in the exports from England. If I were to detail the imports, I could show how many enjoyments they procure which deceive the burden of life; how many materials which invigorate the springs of national industry and extend and animate every part of our foreign and domestic commerce. This would be a curious subject indeed, but I must prescribe bounds to myself in a matter so vast and various.

29. I pass, therefore, to the colonies in another point of view—their agriculture. This they have prosecuted with such a spirit that, besides feeding plentifully their own growing multitude, their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, has some years ago exceeded a million in value. Of their last harvest, I am persuaded they will export much more. At the beginning of the century some of these colonies imported corn from the Mother Country; for some time past the Old World has been fed from the New. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity,[12] had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent.

30. As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acqui-

sitions of value, for they seemed even to excite your envy,[13] and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration. And pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, while we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen Serpent[14] of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.

31. When I contemplate these things, when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect

a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection—when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

32. I am sensible, Sir, that all which I have asserted in my detail is admitted in the gross, but that quite a different conclusion is drawn from it. America, gentlemen say, is a noble object; it is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen in this respect will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art will of course have some predilection for it. Those who wield the thunder of the state may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favor of prudent management than of force—considering force not as an odious, but a feeble instrument for preserving a people so numerous, so active, so growing, so spirited as this, in a profitable and subordinate connection with us.

33. First, Sir, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

34. My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

35. A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavors to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than whole America. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own; because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape, but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit; because it is the spirit that has made the country.

36. Lastly, we have no sort of experience in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. But we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it, and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

37. These, Sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force by which many gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated. But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce: I mean its temper and character.

38. In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole; and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest

from them by force or shuffle from them by chicane what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

39. First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favorite point, which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much further: they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so from the particular nature of a House of Commons as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must in effect, themselves, mediately

or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their lifeblood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe or might be endangered in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy indeed to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is that they did thus apply those general arguments; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

40. They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular; in all the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

41. If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are Protestants, and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, Sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches from all that looks like absolute government is so much to be sought in their religious tenets as in their history. Every one knows that the Roman Catholic religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them and received great favor and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England, too, was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world, and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence

depended on the powerful and unremitted assertion of that claim. All Protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance: it is the dissidence of dissent [15] and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces, where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing most probably the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners which has been constantly flowing into these colonies has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

42. Sir, I can perceive by their manner that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description, because in the southern colonies the Church of England forms a large body and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies, which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, among them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, Sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I can not alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly and with a higher and more stubborn spirit attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be

all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

43. Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies which contributes no mean part toward the growth and effect of this untractable spirit: I mean their education. In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful, and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the Congress were lawyers. But all who read (and most do read) endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers or smatterers in law, and that in Boston they have been enabled by successful chicane wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions. The smartness of debate will say that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my honorable and learned friend[16] on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that when great honors and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious.[17] *Abeunt studia in mores.* This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defense, full of resources. In other countries the people, more simple and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

44. The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral,

but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that you should fret and rage, and bite the chains of Nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empires; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk can not govern Egypt and Arabia and Kurdistan as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his center is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is perhaps not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies, too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.

45. Then, Sir, from these six capital sources: of descent, of form of government, of religion in the northern provinces, of manners in the southern, of education, of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government—from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the

people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth—a spirit that, unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us.

46. I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess, or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us, as their guardians during a perpetual minority, than with any part of it in their own hands. The question is, not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame, but—what, in the name of God, shall we do with it? You have before you the object, such as it is, with all its glories, with all its imperfections on its head. You see the magnitude, the importance, the temper, the habits, the disorders. By all these considerations we are strongly urged to determine something concerning it. We are called upon to fix some rule and line for our future conduct which may give a little stability to our politics, and prevent the return of such unhappy deliberations as the present. Every such return will bring the matter before us in a still more untractable form. For, what astonishing and incredible things have we not seen already! What monsters have not been generated from this unnatural contention! While every principle of authority and resistance has been pushed upon both sides as far as it would go, there is nothing so solid and certain either in reasoning or in practice, that has not been shaken. Until very lately all authority in America seemed to be nothing but an emanation from yours. Even the popular part of the colony constitution derived all its activity and its first vital movement from the pleasure of the crown. We thought, Sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonists could do was to disturb authority; we never

dreamt they could of themselves supply it, knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having for our purposes in this contention resolved that none but an obedient assembly should sit, the humors of the people there, finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried their experiment, as we have tried ours; and theirs has succeeded. They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution, or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it that Lord Dunmore[18] (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called—not the name of governor, as formerly, or committee, as at present. This new government has originated directly from the people, and was not transmitted through any of the ordinary artificial media of a positive constitution. It was not a manufacture ready formed and transmitted to them in that condition from England. The evil arising from hence is this: that the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages of order in the midst of a struggle for liberty, such struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible to the settled and sober part of mankind as they had appeared before the trial.

47. Pursuing the same plan of punishing by the denial of the exercise of government to still greater lengths, we wholly abrogated the ancient government of Massachusetts. We were confident that the first feeling, if not the very prospect of anarchy, would instantly enforce a complete submission. The experiment was tried. A new, strange, unexpected face of things appeared. Anarchy is found tolerable. A vast province has now subsisted, and subsisted in a considerable degree of health and vigor for near a twelvemonth, without governor, without public council, without judges, without executive magistrates. How long it will continue in this state, or what may arise out of this unheard-of situation, how can the wisest of us conjecture? Our late experience has taught us that many of those fundamental principles, formerly believed infallible, are either not of the importance they were imagined to be, or

that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far more powerful principles which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent. I am much against any further experiments which tend to put to the proof any more of these allowed opinions which contribute so much to the public tranquillity. In effect, we suffer as much at home by this loosening of all ties, and this concussion of all established opinions, as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate without attacking some of those principles or deriding some of those feelings for which our ancestors have shed their blood.

48. But, Sir, in wishing to put an end to pernicious experiments, I do not mean to preclude the fullest inquiry. Far from it. Far from deciding on a sudden or partial view, I would patiently go round and round the subject, and survey it minutely in every possible aspect. Sir, if I were capable of engaging you to an equal attention, I would state that, as far as I am capable of discerning, there are but three ways of proceeding relative to this stubborn spirit which prevails in your colonies and disturbs your government. These are,[19] to change that spirit, as inconvenient, by removing the causes; to prosecute it as criminal; or to comply with it as necessary. I would not be guilty of an imperfect enumeration; I can think of but these three. Another has indeed been started—that of [20] giving up the colonies; but it met so slight a reception that I do not think myself obliged to dwell a great while upon it. It is nothing but a little sally of anger, like the frowardness of peevish children who, when they can not get all they would have, are resolved to take nothing.

49. The first of these plans, to change the spirit, as inconvenient, by removing the causes, I think is the most like a systematic proceeding. It is radical in its principle; but it is attended with great difficulties, some of them little short, as I conceive, of impossibilities. This will appear by examining into the plans which have been proposed.

50. As the growing population in the colonies is evidently one cause of their resistance, it was last session mentioned in both Houses by men of weight, and received not without applause, that in order to check this evil, it would be proper for the crown to make no further grants of land. But to this scheme there are two objections. The first, that there is already so much unsettled land in private hands as to afford room for an immense future population, although the crown not only withheld its grants, but annihilated its soil. If this be the case, then the only effect of this avarice of desolation, this hoarding of a royal wilderness, would be to raise the value of the possessions in the hands of the great private monopolists, without any adequate check to the growing and alarming mischief of population.

51. But if you stopped your grants, what would be the consequence? The people would occupy without grants. They have already so occupied in many places. You can not station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage, and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they have topped the Appalachian Mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain, one vast, rich, level meadow; a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with the habits of their life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned;

would become hordes of English Tartars; and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counselors, your collectors and comptrollers, and of all the slaves that adhered to them. Such would, and in no long time must be, the effect of attempting to forbid as a crime and to suppress as an evil the command and blessing of Providence, "Increase and multiply." Such would be the happy result of an endeavor to keep as a lair of wild beasts that earth which God by an express charter has given to the children of men. Far different, and surely much wiser, has been our policy hitherto. Hitherto we have invited our people, by every kind of bounty, to fixed establishments. We have invited the husbandman to look to authority for his title. We have taught him piously to believe in the mysterious virtue of wax and parchment. We have thrown each tract of land, as it was peopled, into districts, that the ruling power should never be wholly out of sight. We have settled all we could, and we have carefully attended every settlement with government.

52. Adhering, Sir, as I do, to this policy, as well as for the reasons I have just given, I think this new project of hedging in population to be neither prudent nor practicable.

53. To impoverish the colonies in general, and in particular to arrest the noble course of their marine enterprises, would be a more easy task. I freely confess it. We have shown a disposition to a system of this kind, a disposition even to continue the restraint after the offense, looking on ourselves as rivals to our colonies, and persuaded that of course we must gain all that they shall lose. Much mischief we may certainly do. The power inadequate to all other things is often more than sufficient for this. I do not look on the direct and immediate power of the colonies to resist our violence as very formidable. In this, however, I may be mistaken. But when I consider that we have colonies for no purpose but to be serviceable to us, it seems to my poor understanding a little preposterous to make them unserviceable in order to keep them obedient. It is, in truth, nothing more than the old, and, as I thought, exploded problem of tyranny,

which proposes to beggar its subjects into submission. But remember, when you have completed your system of impoverishment, that Nature still proceeds in her ordinary course; that discontent will increase with misery; and that there are critical moments in the fortune of all states when they who are too weak to contribute to your prosperity may be strong enough to complete your ruin. *Spoliatis arma supersunt.*[21]

54. The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We can not, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale would detect the imposition: your speech would betray you. An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery.

55. I think it is nearly as little in our power to change their republican religion as their free descent, or to substitute the Roman Catholic as a penalty, or the Church of England, as an improvement. The mode of inquisition and dragooning is going out of fashion in the Old World, and I should not confide much to their efficacy in the New. The education of the Americans is also on the same unalterable bottom with their religion. You can not persuade them to burn their books of curious science, to banish their lawyers from their courts of laws, or to quench the lights of their assemblies by refusing to choose those persons who are best read in their privileges. It would be no less impracticable to think of wholly annihilating the popular assemblies in which these lawyers sit. The army, by which we must govern in their place, would be far more chargeable to us, not quite so effectual, and perhaps, in the end, full as difficult to be kept in obedience.

56. With regard to the high aristocratic spirit of Virginia and the southern colonies, it has been proposed, I know, to reduce it by declaring a general enfranchisement of their slaves. This project has had its advocates and panegyrists, yet I never could argue myself into any opinion of it. Slaves are often much attached to their masters. A general wild offer of liberty

would not always be accepted. History furnishes few instances of it. It is sometimes as hard to persuade slaves to be free as it is to compel freemen to be slaves; and in this auspicious scheme we should have both these pleasing tasks on our hands at once. But when we talk of enfranchisement, do we not perceive that the American master may enfranchise too, and arm servile hands in defense of freedom—a measure to which other people have had recourse more than once, and not without success, in a desperate situation of their affairs.

57. Slaves as these unfortunate black people are, and dull as all men are from slavery, must they not a little suspect the offer of freedom from that very nation which has sold them to their present masters?—from that nation one of whose causes of quarrel with those masters is their refusal to deal any more in that inhuman traffic? An offer of freedom from England would come rather oddly, shipped to them in an African vessel which is refused an entry into the ports of Virginia or Carolina with a cargo of three hundred Angola negroes. It would be curious to see the Guinea captain attempting at the same instant to publish his proclamation of liberty and to advertise his sale of slaves.

58. But let us suppose all these moral difficulties got over. The ocean remains.[22] You can not pump this dry; and as long as it continues in its present bed, so long all the causes which weaken authority by distance will continue.

> "Ye gods, annihilate but space and time,
> And make two lovers happy!"—

was a pious and passionate prayer, but just as reasonable as many of the serious wishes of very grave and solemn politicians.

59. If then, Sir, it seems almost desperate to think of any alterative course for changing the moral causes, and not quite easy to remove the natural, which produce prejudices irreconcilable to the late exercise of our authority, but that the spirit infallibly will continue, and continuing, will produce such effects as now embarrass us—the second mode under consideration is to prosecute that spirit in its overt acts as *criminal*.

60. At this proposition I must pause a moment. The thing seems a great deal too big for my ideas of jurisprudence. It should seem to my way of conceiving such matters, that there is a very wide difference in reason and policy between the mode of proceeding on the irregular conduct of scattered individuals, or even of bands of men, who disturb order within the state, and the civil dissensions which may from time to time on great questions agitate the several communities which compose a great empire. It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I can not insult and ridicule the feelings of millions of my fellow-creatures as Sir Edward Coke[23] insulted one excellent individual, Sir Walter Raleigh, at the bar. I hope I am not ripe to pass sentence on the gravest public bodies, intrusted with magistracies of great authority and dignity, and charged with the safety of their fellow-citizens upon the very same title that I am. I really think that for wise men this is not judicious; for sober men, not decent; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild and merciful.

61. Perhaps, Sir, I am mistaken in my idea of an empire, as distinguished from a single state or kingdom. But my idea of it is this: that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarch, or a presiding republic. It does, in such constitutions, frequently happen (and nothing but the dismal, cold, dead uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening) that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line may be extremely nice. Of course disputes—often, too, very bitter disputes—and much ill blood, will arise; but though every privilege is an exemption, in the case, from the ordinary exercise of the supreme authority, it is no denial of it. The claim of a privilege seems rather, *ex*[24] *vi termini*, to imply

a superior power; for to talk of the privileges of a state or of a person who has no superior, is hardly any better than speaking nonsense. Now, in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent than for the head of the empire to insist that, if any privilege is pleaded against his will or his acts, his whole authority is denied, instantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Will not this, Sir, very soon teach the provinces to make no distinctions on their part? Will it not teach them that the government against which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason is a government to which submission is equivalent to slavery? It may not always be quite convenient to impress dependent communities with such an idea.

62. We are, indeed, in all disputes with the colonies, by the necessity of things, the judge. It is true, Sir. But I confess that the character of judge in my own cause is a thing that frightens me. Instead of filling me with pride, I am exceedingly humbled by it. I can not proceed with a stern, assured, judicial confidence, until I find myself in something more like a judicial character. I must have these hesitations as long as I am compelled to recollect that, in my little reading upon such contests as these, the sense of mankind has at least as often decided against the superior as the subordinate power. Sir, let me add, too, that the opinion of my having some abstract right in my favor would not put me much at my ease in passing sentence, unless I could be sure that there were no rights which, in their exercise under certain circumstances, were not the most odious of all wrongs and the most vexatious of all injustice. Sir, these considerations have great weight with me when I find things so circumstanced that I see the same party at once a civil litigant against me in point of right, and a culprit before me, while I sit as a criminal judge on acts of his, whose moral quality is to be decided upon the merits of that very litigation. Men are every now and then put by the complexity of human affairs into strange situations, but justice is the same, let the judge be in what situation he will.

63. There is, Sir, also a circumstance which convinces me that this mode of criminal proceeding is not (at least in the present stage of our contest) altogether expedient; which is nothing less than the conduct of those very persons who have seemed to

adopt that mode by lately declaring a rebellion in Massachusetts Bay, as they had formerly addressed [25] to have traitors brought hither, under an act of Henry the Eighth, for trial. For though rebellion is declared, it is not proceeded against as such; nor have any steps been taken toward the apprehension or conviction of any individual offender, either on our late or our former address; but modes of public coercion have been adopted, and such as have much more resemblance to a sort of qualified hostility toward an independent power than the punishment of rebellious subjects. All this seems rather inconsistent; but it shows how difficult it is to apply these juridical ideas to our present case.

64. In this situation, let us seriously and coolly ponder. What is it we have got by all our menaces, which have been many and ferocious? What advantage have we derived from the penal laws we have passed, and which, for the time, have been severe and numerous? What advances have we made toward our object by the sending of a force which, by land and sea, is no contemptible strength? Has the disorder abated? Nothing less. When I see things in this situation, after such confident hopes, bold promises, and active exertions, I can not for my life avoid a suspicion that the plan itself is not correctly right.

65. If, then, the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be, for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable, if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable, or, if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient, what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and last—to comply with the American spirit as necessary, or, if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil.[26]

66. If we adopt this mode, if we mean to conciliate and concede, let us see of what nature the concession ought to be. To ascertain the nature of our concession, we must look at their complaint. The colonies complain that they have not the characteristic mark and seal of British free-

dom. They complain that they are taxed in a Parliament in which they are not represented. If you mean to satisfy them at all, you must satisfy them with regard to this complaint. If you mean to please any people, you must give them the boon which they ask, not what you may think better for them but of a kind totally different. Such an act may be a wise regulation, but it is no concession; whereas our present theme is the mode of giving satisfaction.

67. Sir, I think you must perceive that I am resolved this day to have nothing at all to do with the question of the right of taxation. Some gentlemen startle, but it is true; I put it totally out of the question. It is less than nothing in my consideration. I do not indeed wonder, nor will you, Sir, that gentlemen of profound learning are fond of displaying it on this profound subject. But my consideration is narrow, confined, and wholly limited to the policy of the question. I do not examine whether the giving away a man's money be a power excepted and reserved out of the general trust of government; and how far all mankind, in all forms of polity, are entitled to an exercise of that right by the charter of nature; or whether, on the contrary, a right of taxation is necessarily involved in the general principle of legislation, and inseparable from the ordinary supreme power. These are deep questions, where great names militate against each other; where reason is perplexed, and an appeal to authorities only thickens the confusion; for high and reverend authorities lift up their heads on both sides, and there is no sure footing in the middle. This point is the great

> "Serbonian bog,
> Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
> Where armies whole have sunk."

I do not intend to be overwhelmed in that bog, though in such respectable company. The question with me is,

not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I *may* do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. Is a politic act the worse for being a generous one? Is no concession proper but that which is made from your want of right to keep what you grant? Or does it lessen the grace or dignity of relaxing in the exercise of an odious claim, because you have your evidence-room full of titles, and your magazines stuffed with arms to enforce them? What signify all those titles and all those arms? Of what avail are they when the reason of the thing tells me that the assertion of my title is the loss of my suit, and that I could no nothing but wound myself by the use of my own weapons?

68. Such is steadfastly my opinion of the absolute necessity of keeping up the concord of this empire by a unity of spirit, though in a diversity of operations, that if I were sure the colonists had, at their leaving this country, sealed a regular compact of servitude; that they had solemnly abjured all the rights of citizens; that they had made a vow to renounce all ideas of liberty for them and their posterity to all generations; yet I should hold myself obliged to conform to the temper I found universally prevalent in my own day, and to govern two millions of men, impatient of servitude, on the principles of freedom. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity; and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.

69. My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right or grant as matter of favor, is *to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution;* and by recording that admission in the

journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.

70. Some years ago, the repeal of [27] a revenue act upon its understood principle might have served to show that we intended an unconditional abatement of the exercise of a taxing power. Such a measure was then sufficient to remove all suspicion and to give perfect content. But unfortunate events since that time may make something further necessary, and not more necessary for the satisfaction of the colonies than for the dignity and consistency of our own future proceedings.

71. I have taken a very incorrect measure of the disposition of the House, if this proposal in itself would be received with dislike. I think, Sir, we have few American financiers. But our misfortune is, we are too acute; we are too exquisite in our conjectures of the future for men oppressed with such great and present evils. The more moderate among the opposers of parliamentary concession freely confess that they hope no good from taxation; but they apprehend the colonists have further views; and if this point were conceded, they would instantly attack the trade laws. These gentlemen are convinced that this was the intention from the beginning, and the quarrel of the Americans with taxation was no more than a cloak and cover to this design. Such has been the language, even of a gentleman of real moderation and of a natural temper well adjusted to fair and equal government. I am, however, Sir, not a little surprised at this kind of discourse whenever I hear it; and I am the more surprised on account of the arguments which I constantly find in company with it, and which are often urged from the same mouths and on the same day.

72. For instance, when we allege that it is against reason to tax a people under so many restraints in trade as the Americans, the noble lord in the blue ribbon shall tell you that the restraints on trade are futile and useless, of no advantage to us, and of no burden to those on whom they are imposed; that the trade to America is not secured by the Acts of Nav-

igation, but by the natural and irresistible advantage of a commercial preference.

73. Such is the merit of the trade laws in this posture of the debate. But when strong internal circumstances are urged against the taxes; when the scheme is dissected; when experience and the nature of things are brought to prove, and do prove, the utter impossibility of obtaining an effective revenue from the colonies; when these things are pressed, or rather press themselves, so as to drive the advocates of colony taxes to a clear admission of the futility of the scheme—then, Sir, the sleeping trade laws revive from their trance, and this useless taxation is to be kept sacred, not for its own sake, but as a counterguard and security of the laws of trade.

74. Then, Sir, you keep up revenue laws which are mischievous, in order to preserve trade laws that are useless. Such is the wisdom of our plan in both its members. They are separately given up as of no value, and yet one is always to be defended for the sake of the other. But I can not agree with the noble lord nor with the pamphlet from whence he seems to have borrowed these ideas concerning the inutility of the trade laws; for, without idolizing them, I am sure they are still in many ways of great use to us; and in former times they have been of the greatest. They do confine and they do greatly narrow the market for the Americans. But my perfect conviction of this does not help me in the least to discern how the revenue laws form any security whatsoever to the commercial regulations; or that these commercial regulations are the true ground of the quarrel; or that the giving way, in any one instance, of authority, is to lose all that may remain unconceded.

75. One fact is clear and indisputable: the public and avowed origin of this quarrel was on taxation. This quarrel has indeed brought on new disputes on new questions, but certainly the least bitter and the fewest of all on the trade laws. To judge which of the two be the real, radical cause of quarrel, we have to see whether the commercial dispute did in order of time precede the dispute on taxation. There is not a shadow of evidence for it. Next, to enable us to judge whether at this moment a dislike to the trade laws be the real cause

of quarrel, it is absolutely necessary to put the taxes out of the question by a repeal. See how the Americans act in this position, and then you will be able to discern correctly what is the true object of the controversy, or whether any controversy at all will remain. Unless you consent to remove this cause of difference, it is impossible, with decency, to assert that the dispute is not upon what it is avowed to be. And I would, Sir, recommend to your serious consideration, whether it be prudent to form a rule for punishing people, not on their own acts, but on your conjectures? Surely it is preposterous at the very best. It is not justifying your anger by their misconduct, but it is converting your ill will into their delinquency.

76. "But the colonies will go further." [28] Alas! alas! when will this speculating against fact and reason end? What will quiet these panic fears which we entertain of the hostile effect of a conciliatory conduct? Is it true that no case can exist in which it is proper for the sovereign to accede to the desires of his discontented subjects? Is there anything peculiar in this case to make a rule for itself? Is all authority of course lost when it is not pushed to the extreme? Is it a certain maxim that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel?

77. All these objections being in fact no more than suspicions, conjectures, divinations, formed in defiance of fact and experience, they did not, Sir, discourage me from entertaining the idea of a conciliatory concession, founded on the principles which I have just stated.

78. In forming a plan for this purpose, I endeavored to put myself in that frame of mind which was the most natural and the most reasonable and which was certainly the most probable means of securing me from all

error. I set out with a perfect distrust of my own abilities; a total renunciation of every speculation of my own; and with a profound reverence for the wisdom of our ancestors, who have left us the inheritance of so happy a constitution and so flourishing an empire, and what is a thousand times more valuable—the treasury of the maxims and principles which formed the one and obtained the other.

79. During the reigns of the kings of Spain of the Austrian family, whenever they were at a loss in the Spanish councils, it was common for their statesmen to say that they ought to consult the genius of Philip the Second. The genius of Philip the Second [29] might mislead them, and the issue of their affairs showed that they had not chosen the most perfect standard. But, Sir, I am sure that I shall not be misled when, in a case of constitutional difficulty, I consult the genius of the English Constitution.[30] Consulting at that oracle (it was with all due humility and piety) I found four capital examples in a similar case before me: those of Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham.

80. Ireland, before the English conquest, though never governed by a despotic power, had no parliament. How far the English Parliament itself was at that time modeled according to the present form, is disputed among antiquarians. But we have all the reason in the world to be assured that a form of parliament such as England then enjoyed, she instantly communicated to Ireland; and we are equally sure that almost every successive improvement in constitutional liberty, as fast as it was made here, was transmitted thither. The feudal baronage and the feudal knighthood, the roots of our primitive constitution, were early transplanted into that soil, and grew and flourished there. Magna Charta, if it did not give us originally the House of Commons, gave us at least a House of Commons of weight and consequence. But your ancestors did not churlishly sit down alone to the feast of Magna Charta. Ireland was made immediately a partaker. This benefit of English laws and liberties, I confess, was not at first extended

to *all* Ireland. Mark the consequence: English authority and English liberties had exactly the same boundaries. Your standard could never be advanced an inch before your privileges. Sir John Davies shows beyond a doubt that the refusal of a general communication of these rights was the true cause why Ireland was five hundred years in subduing; and after the vain projects of a military government, attempted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was soon discovered that nothing could make that country English in civility and allegiance but your laws and your forms of legislature. It was not English arms, but the English Constitution, that conquered Ireland. From that time Ireland has ever had a general parliament, as she had before a partial parliament. You changed the people; you altered the religion; but you never touched the form or the vital substance of free government in that kingdom. You deposed kings; you restored them; you altered the succession to theirs, as well as to your own crown; but you never altered their constitution, the principle of which was respected by usurpation, restored with the restoration of monarchy, and established, I trust, forever, by the glorious Revolution. This has made Ireland the great and flourishing kingdom that it is; and from a disgrace and a burden intolerable to this nation, has rendered her a principal part of our strength and ornament. This country can not be said to have ever formally taxed her. The irregular things done in the confusion of mighty troubles and on the hinge of great revolutions, even if all were done that is said to have been done, form no example. If they have any effect in argument, they make an exception to prove the rule. None of your own liberties could stand a moment, if the casual deviations from them at such times were suffered to be used as proofs of their nullity. By the lucrative amount of such casual breaches in the Constitution, judge what the stated and fixed rule of supply has been in that kingdom. Your Irish pensioners would starve if they had no other fund to live on than taxes granted by English authority. Turn your eyes to those popular grants from whence all your great supplies are come, and learn to respect that only source of public wealth in the British Empire.

81. My next example is Wales. This country was said to be reduced by Henry the Third. It was said more truly to be so by Edward the First. But though then conquered, it was not looked upon as any part of the realm of England. Its

old constitution, whatever that might have been, was destroyed; and no good one was substituted in its place. The care of that tract was put into the hands of lords marchers—a form of government of a very singular kind; a strange heterogeneous monster, something between hostility and government; perhaps it has a sort of resemblance, according to the modes of those times, to that of commander in chief at present, to whom all civil power is granted as secondary. The manners of the Welsh nation followed the genius of the government: the people were ferocious, restive, savage, and uncultivated, sometimes composed, never pacified. Wales, within itself, was in perpetual disorder; and it kept the frontier of England in perpetual alarm. Benefits from it to the state there were none. Wales was only known to England by incursion and invasion.

82. Sir, during that state of things, Parliament was not idle. They attempted to subdue the fierce spirit of the Welsh by all sorts of rigorous laws. They prohibited by statute the sending all sorts of arms into Wales, as you prohibit by proclamation (with something more of doubt on the legality) the sending arms to America. They disarmed the Welsh by statute, as you attempted (but still with more question on the legality) to disarm New England by an instruction. They made an act to drag offenders from Wales into England for trial, as you have done (but with more hardship) with regard to America. By another act, where one of the parties was an Englishman, they ordained that his trial should be always by English. They made acts to restrain trade, as you do; and they prevented the Welsh from the use of fairs and markets, as you do the Americans from fisheries and foreign ports. In short, when the statute book was not quite so much swelled as it is now, you find no less than fifteen acts of penal regulation on the subject of Wales.

83. Here we rub our hands. "A fine body of precedents for the authority of Parliament and the use of it!" I admit it fully; and pray add likewise to these precedents, that all the while Wales rid this kingdom like an *incubus;* that it was an unprofitable and oppressive burden; and that an Englishman traveling in that country could not go six yards from the highroad without being murdered.

84. The march of the human mind is slow. Sir, it was not until after two hundred years discovered that, by an eternal

law, Providence had decreed vexation to violence, and poverty to rapine. Your ancestors did, however, at length open their eyes to the ill-husbandry of injustice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the least be endured; and that laws made against a whole nation were not the most effectual methods for securing its obedience. Accordingly, in the twenty-seventh year of Henry the Eighth, the course was entirely altered. With a preamble stating the entire and perfect rights of the crown of England, it gave to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects. A political order was established; the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation should have a right to English liberties, and yet no share at all in the fundamental security of these liberties—the grant of their own property—seemed a thing so incongruous that, eight years after—that is, in the thirty-fifth of that reign—a complete and not ill-proportioned representation by counties and boroughs was bestowed upon Wales by act of Parliament. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided, obedience was restored, peace, order, and civilization followed in the train of liberty. When the day-star of the English Constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without—

> "Simul alba nautis
> Stella refulsit,
> Defluit saxis agitatus humor;
> Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
> Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
> Unda recumbit." [31]

85. The very same year the county palatine of Chester received the same relief from its oppressions and the same remedy to its disorders. Before this time Chester was little less distempered than Wales. The inhabitants, without rights themselves, were the fittest to destroy the rights of others; and from thence Richard the Second drew the standing army of archers with which for a time he oppressed England. The people of Chester applied to Parliament in a petition penned as I shall read to you:

86. "To the king our sovereign lord, in most humble wise shewen unto your most excellent Majesty, the inhabitants of your Grace's county palatine of Chester: (1) That where the

said county palatine of Chester is and hath been always hitherto exempt, excluded and separated out and from your high court of Parliament, to have any knights and burgesses within the said court; by reason whereof the said inhabitants have hitherto sustained manifold disherisons, losses, and damages, as well in their lands, goods, and bodies, as in the good, civil, and politic governance and maintenance of the commonwealth of their said country: (2) And forasmuch as the said inhabitants have always hitherto been bound by the acts and statutes made and ordained by your said Highness, and your most noble progenitors, by authority of the said court, as far forth as other counties, cities, and boroughs have been, that have had their knights and burgesses within your said court of Parliament, and yet have had neither knight ne burgess there for the said county palatine; the said inhabitants, for lack thereof, have been oftentimes touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the said court, as well derogatory unto the most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges of your said county palatine, as prejudicial unto the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace of your Grace's most bounden subjects inhabiting within the same."

87. What did Parliament with this audacious address? Reject it as a libel? Treat it as an affront to government? Spurn it as a derogation from the rights of legislature? Did they toss it over the table? Did they burn it by the hands of the common hangman? They took the petition of grievance, all rugged as it was, without softening or temperament, unpurged of the original bitterness and indignation of complaint; they made it the very preamble to their act of redress, and consecrated its principle to all ages in the sanctuary of legislation.

88. Here is my third example. It was attended with the success of the two former. Chester, civilized as well as Wales, has demonstrated that freedom, and not servitude, is the cure of anarchy; as religion, and not atheism, is the true remedy for superstition. Sir, this pattern of Chester was followed in the reign of Charles the Second with regard to the county palatine of Durham, which is my fourth example. This county had long lain out of the pale of free legislation. So scrupulously was the example of Chester followed, that the style of the preamble is nearly the same with that of the Chester Act; and without affecting the abstract extent of the authority of Parliament, it recognizes the equity of not suffering any considerable

district in which the British subjects may act as a body to be taxed without their own voice in the grant.

89. Now, if the doctrines of policy contained in these preambles, and the force of these examples in the acts of Parliament, avail anything, what can be said against applying them with regard to America? Are not the people of America as much Englishmen as the Welsh? The preamble of the Act of Henry the Eighth says the Welsh speak a language no way resembling that of his Majesty's English subjects. Are the Americans not as numerous? If we may trust the learned and accurate Judge Barrington's account of North Wales, and take that as a standard to measure the rest, there is no comparison. The people can not amount to above 200,000 —not a tenth part of the number in the colonies. Is America in rebellion? Wales was hardly ever free from it. Have you attempted to govern America by penal statutes? You made fifteen for Wales. But your legislative authority is perfect with regard to America! Was it less perfect in Wales, Chester, and Durham? But America is virtually represented! What! does the electric force of virtual representation more easily pass over the Atlantic than pervade Wales, which lies in your neighborhood? or than Chester and Durham, surrounded by abundance of representation that is actual and palpable? But, Sir, your ancestors thought this sort of virtual representation, however ample, to be totally insufficient for the freedom of the inhabitants of territories that are so near and comparatively so inconsiderable. How then can I think it sufficient for those which are infinitely greater and infinitely more remote?

90. You will now, Sir, perhaps, imagine that I am on the point of proposing to you a scheme for a representation of the colonies in Parliament. Perhaps I might be inclined to entertain some such thought, but a great

flood stops me in my course. *Opposuit natura*[32]—I can not remove the eternal barriers of the creation. The thing, in that mode, I do not know to be possible. As I meddle with no theory, I do not absolutely assert the impracticability of such a representation. But I do not see my way to it; and those who have been more confident have not been more successful. However, the arm of public benevolence is not shortened, and there are often several means to the same end. What Nature has disjoined in one way, Wisdom may unite in another. When we can not give the benefit as we would wish, let us not refuse it altogether. If we can not give the principal, let us find a substitute. But how? Where? What substitute?

91. Fortunately I am not obliged for the ways and means of this substitute to tax my own unproductive invention. I am not even obliged to go to the rich treasury of the fertile framers of imaginary commonwealths; not to the *Republic* of Plato;[33] not to the *Utopia* of More; not to the Oceana of Harrington. It is before me; it is at my feet—

> "and the rude swain
> Treads daily on it with his clouted shoon."

I only wish you to recognize, for the theory, the ancient constitutional policy of this kingdom with regard to representation, as that policy has been declared in acts of Parliament; and as to the practice, to return to that mode which a uniform experience has marked out to you as best, and in which you walked with security, advantage, and honor, until the year 1763.[34]

92. My resolutions therefore mean to establish the equity and justice of a taxation of America by *grant,* and not by *imposition;*[35] to mark the *legal competency* of the colony assemblies for the support of their government

in peace, and for public aids in time of war; to acknowledge that this legal competency has had *a dutiful and beneficial exercise;* and that experience has shown the *benefit of their grants* and the *futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply.*

93. These solid truths compose six fundamental propositions. There are three more resolutions corollary to these. If you admit the first set, you can hardly reject the others. But if you admit the first, I shall be far from solicitous whether you accept or refuse the last. I think these six massive pillars will be of strength sufficient to support the temple of British concord. I have no more doubt than I entertain of my existence that, if you admitted these, you would command an immediate peace, and, with but tolerable future management, a lasting obedience in America. I am not arrogant in this confident assurance. The propositions are all mere matters of fact; and if they are such facts as draw irresistible conclusions even in the stating, this is the power of truth, and not any management of mine.

94. Sir, I shall open the whole plan to you, together with such observations on the motions as may tend to illustrate them where they may want explanation. The first is a resolution—

95. I. "That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen [36] separate governments and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of Parliament."

This is a plain matter of fact, necessary to be laid down, and, excepting the description, it is laid down in the language of the constitution: it is taken nearly *verbatim* from acts of Parliament.

The second is like unto the first—

96. II. "That the said colonies and plantations have been liable to, and bounden by, several subsidies, payments, rates, and taxes, given and granted by Parliament, though the said colonies and plantations have not their knights and burgesses in the said high court of Parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their country; by lack whereof they have

been oftentimes touched and grieved by subsidies given, granted, and assented to in the said court, in a manner prejudicial to the commonwealth, quietness, rest, and peace of the subjects inhabiting within the same."

97. Is this description too hot or too cold, too strong or too weak? Does it arrogate too much to the supreme legislature? Does it lean too much to the claims of the people? If it runs into any of these errors, the fault is not mine. It is the language of your own ancient acts of Parliament.

> "Non meus hic sermo, sed quæ præcepit Ofellus,
> Rusticus, abnormis sapiens." [37]

It is the genuine produce of the ancient, rustic, manly, homebred sense of this country. I did not dare to rub off a particle of the venerable rust that rather adorns and preserves than destroys, the metal. It would be a profanation to touch with a tool the stones which construct the sacred altar of peace. I would not violate with modern polish the ingenuous and noble roughness of these truly constitutional materials. Above all things, I was resolved not to be guilty of tampering—the odious vice of restless and unstable minds. I put my foot in the tracks of our forefathers, where I can neither wander nor stumble. Determining to fix articles of peace, I was resolved not to be wise beyond what was written. I was resolved to use nothing else than the form of sound words, to let others abound in their own sense, and carefully to abstain from all expressions of my own. What the law has said, I say. In all things else I am silent. I have no organ but for her words. This, if it be not ingenious, I am sure is safe.

98. There are indeed words expressive of grievance in this second resolution which those who are resolved always to be in the right will deny to contain matter of fact as applied to the present case, although Parliament thought them true with regard to the counties of Chester and Durham. They will deny that the Americans were ever "touched and grieved" with the taxes. If they consider nothing in taxes but their weight as pecuniary impositions, there might be some pretense for this denial. But men may be sorely touched and deeply grieved in their privileges as well as in their purses. Men may lose little in property by the act which takes away all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the high-

way, it is not the twopence lost that constitutes the capital outrage. This is not confined to privileges. Even ancient indulgences, withdrawn without offense on the part of those who enjoyed such favors, operate as grievances. But were the Americans then not touched and grieved by the taxes, in some measure, merely as taxes? If so, why were they almost all either wholly repealed or exceedingly reduced? Were they not touched and grieved even by the regulating duties of the sixth of George the Second? Else why were the duties first reduced to one third in 1764, and afterward to a third of that third in the year 1766? Were they not touched and grieved by the Stamp Act? I shall say they were, until that tax is revived. Were they not touched and grieved by the duties of 1767, which were likewise repealed, and which Lord Hillsborough [38] tells you, for the ministry, were laid contrary to the true principle of commerce? Is not the assurance given by that noble person to the colonies of a resolution to lay no more taxes on them, an admission that taxes would touch and grieve them? Is not the resolution of the noble lord in the blue ribbon, now standing on your journals, the strongest of all proofs that parliamentary subsidies really touched and grieved them? Else why all these changes, modifications, repeals, assurances, and resolutions?

The next proposition is—

99. III. "That from the distance of the said colonies and from other circumstances, no method hath hitherto been devised for procuring a representation in Parliament for the said colonies."

This is an assertion of a fact. I go no further on the paper, though in my private judgment a useful representation is impossible. I am sure it is not desired by them; nor ought it, perhaps, by us; but I abstain from opinions.

The fourth resolution is—

100. IV. "That each of the said colonies hath within itself a body, chosen in part or in the whole, by the freemen, freeholders, or other free inhabitants thereof, commonly called the General Assembly or General Court, with powers legally to raise, levy, and assess, according to the several usage of such colonies, duties and taxes toward defraying all sorts of public services."

101. This competence in the colony assemblies is certain. It is proved by the whole tenor of their acts of supply in all the assemblies, in which the constant style of granting is, "an aid to his Majesty"; and acts granting to the crown have regularly for near a century passed the public offices without dispute. Those who have been pleased paradoxically to deny this right, holding that none but the British Parliament can grant to the crown, are wished to look to what is done, not only in the colonies, but in Ireland, in one uniform unbroken tenor every session. Sir, I am surprised that this doctrine should come from some of the law servants of the crown. I say that if the crown could be responsible, his Majesty—but certainly the ministers, and even these law officers themselves through whose hands the acts pass, biennially in Ireland or annually in the colonies, are in an habitual course of committing impeachable offenses. What habitual offenders have been all presidents of the council, all secretaries of state, all first lords of trade, all attorneys and all solicitors-general! However, they are safe, as no one impeaches them; and there is no ground of charge against them, except in their own unfounded theories.

The fifth resolution is also a resolution of fact—

102. V. "That the said General Assemblies, General Courts, or other bodies legally qualified as aforesaid, have at sundry times freely granted several large subsidies and public aids for his Majesty's service, according to their abilities, when required thereto by letter from one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state; and that their right to grant the same, and their cheerfulness and sufficiency in the said grants, have been at sundry times acknowledged by Parliament."

To say nothing of their great expenses in the Indian wars, and not to take their exertion in foreign ones so high as the supplies in the year 1695, not to go back to their public contributions in the year 1710, I shall begin to travel only where the journals give me light, resolving to deal in nothing but fact authenticated by parliamentary record, and to build myself wholly on that solid basis.

103. On the 4th of April, 1748, a committee of this House came to the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That it is the opinion of this committee *that it is just and reasonable* that the several provinces and colonies

of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island be reimbursed the expenses they have been at in taking and securing to the crown of Great Britain the island of Cape Breton and its dependencies."

These expenses were immense for such colonies. They were above £200,000 sterling; money first raised and advanced on their public credit.

104. On the 28th of January, 1756, a message from the king came to us to this effect:

"His Majesty, being sensible of the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects of certain colonies in North America have exerted themselves in defense of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommends it to this House to take the same into their consideration, and to enable his Majesty to give them such assistance as may be a *proper reward and encouragement.*"

105. On the 3d of February, 1756, the House came to a suitable resolution, expressed in words nearly the same as those of the message, but with the further addition, that the money then voted was an *encouragement* to the colonies to exert themselves with vigor. It will not be necessary to go through all the testimonies which your own records have given to the truth of my resolutions: I will only refer you to the places in the journals:

Vol. xxvii.—May 16 and 19, 1757.
Vol. xxviii.—June 1, 1758; April 26 and 30, 1759; March 26 and 31 and April 28, 1760; January 9 and 20, 1761.
Vol. xxix.—January 22 and 26, 1762; March 14 and 17, 1763.

106. Sir, here is the repeated acknowledgment of Parliament that the colonies not only gave, but gave to satiety. This nation has formally acknowledged two things: first, that the colonies had gone beyond their abilities, Parliament having thought it necessary to reimburse them; secondly, that they had acted legally and laudably in their grants of money and their maintenance of troops, since the compensation is expressly given as reward and encouragement. Reward is not bestowed for acts that are unlawful, and encouragement is not held out to things that deserve reprehension. My resolution therefore does noth-

ing more than collect into one proposition what is scattered through your journals. I give you nothing but your own, and you can not refuse in the gross what you have so often acknowledged in detail. The admission of this, which will be so honorable to them and to you, will indeed be mortal to all the miserable stories by which the passions of the misguided people have been engaged in an unhappy system. The people heard, indeed, from the beginning of these disputes, one thing continually dinned in their ears—that reason and justice demanded that the Americans, who paid no taxes, should be compelled to contribute. How did that fact of their paying nothing stand when the taxing system began? When Mr. Grenville began to form his system of American revenue, he stated in this House that the colonies were then in debt two million six hundred thousand pounds sterling money, and was of opinion they would discharge that debt in four years. On this state, those untaxed people were actually subject to the payment of taxes to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand a year. In fact, however, Mr. Grenville was mistaken. The funds given for sinking the debt did not prove quite so ample as both the colonies and he expected. The calculation was too sanguine: the reduction was not completed till some years after, and at different times in different colonies. However, the taxes after the war continued too great to bear any addition with prudence or propriety; and when the burdens imposed in consequence of former requisitions were discharged, our tone became too high to resort again to requisition. No colony since that time ever has had any requisition whatsoever made to it.

107. We see the sense of the crown and the sense of Parliament on the productive nature of a *revenue by grant.* Now search the same journals for the produce of the *revenue by imposition.* Where is it? Let us know the volume and the page? What is the gross, what is the net produce? To what service is it applied? How have you appropriated its surplus? What! can none of the many skillful index makers that we are now employing find any trace of it? Well, let them and that rest together. But are the journals, which say nothing of the revenue, as silent on the discontent? Oh, no! a child may find it. It is the melancholy burden and blot of every page.

108. I think, then, I am, from those journals, justified in the sixth and last resolution, which is—

VI. "That it hath been found by experience that the manner of granting the said supplies and aids by the said General Assemblies hath been more agreeable to the said colonies, and more beneficial and conducive to the public service, than the mode of giving and granting aids in Parliament, to be raised and paid in the said colonies."

109. This makes the whole of the fundamental part of the plan. The conclusion is irresistible. You can not say that you were driven by any necessity to an exercise of the utmost rights of legislature. You can not assert that you took on yourselves the task of imposing colony taxes, from the want of another legal body that is competent to the purpose of supplying the exigencies of the state without wounding the prejudices of the people. Neither is it true that the body so qualified and having that competence had neglected the duty.

110. The question now on all this accumulated matter is—whether you will choose to abide by a profitable experience, or a mischievous theory; whether you choose to build on imagination or fact; whether you prefer enjoyment or hope; satisfaction in your subjects, or discontent?

111. If these propositions are accepted, everything which has been made to enforce a contrary system must, I take it for granted, fall along with it. On that ground I have drawn the following resolution, which, when it comes to be moved, will naturally be divided in a proper manner:

112. I. "That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom, of coffee and cocoanuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthenware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations.' And that it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town and within the harbor of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America.'—And that it may be proper to repeal

an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'—And that it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'—And also, that it may be proper to explain and amend an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, entitled, 'An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the king's dominions.'"

113. I wish, Sir, to repeal the Boston Port Bill, because, independently of the dangerous precedent of suspending the rights of the subject during the king's pleasure, it was passed, as I apprehend, with less regularity, and on more partial principles, than it ought. The corporation of Boston was not heard before it was condemned. Other towns, full as guilty as she was, have not had their ports blocked up. Even the restraining bill [39] of the present session does not go to the length of the Boston Port Act. The same ideas of prudence which induced you not to extend equal punishment to equal guilt, even when you were punishing, induced me, who mean not to chastise, but to reconcile, to be satisfied with the punishment already partially inflicted.

114. Ideas of prudence and accommodation to circumstances prevent you from taking away the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, as you have taken away that of Massachusetts colony, though the crown has far less power [40] in the two former provinces than it enjoyed in the latter; and though the abuses have been full as great, and as flagrant, in the exempted as in the punished. The same reasons of prudence and accommodation have weight with me in restoring the charter of Massachusetts Bay. Besides, Sir, the act which changes the charter of Massachusetts is in many particulars so exceptionable that, if I did not wish absolutely to repeal, I would by all means desire to alter it, as several of its provisions tend to the subversion of all public and private justice. Such, among others, is the power in the governor to change the sheriff at his pleasure, and to make a new returning officer

for every special cause. It is shameful to behold such a regulation standing among English laws.

115. The act for bringing persons accused of committing murder under the orders of government to England for trial is but temporary. That act has calculated the probable duration of our quarrel with the colonies, and is accommodated to that supposed duration. I would hasten the happy moment of reconciliation, and therefore must, on my principle, get rid of that most justly obnoxious act.

116. The act of Henry the Eighth for the trial of treasons, I do not mean to take away, but to confine it to its proper bounds and original intention; to make it expressly for trial of treasons (and the greatest treasons may be committed) in places where the jurisdiction of the crown does not extend.

117. Having guarded the privileges of local legislature, I would next secure to the colonies a fair and unbiased judicature; for which purpose, Sir, I propose the following resolution:

II. "That, from the time when the General Assembly or General Court of any colony or plantation in North America shall have appointed, by act of Assembly duly confirmed, a settled salary to the offices of the chief justice and other judges of the superior courts, it may be proper that the said chief justice and other judges of the superior courts of such colony shall hold his and their office and offices during their good behavior; and shall not be removed therefrom, but when the said removal shall be adjudged by his Majesty in council, upon a hearing on complaint from the General Assembly, or on a complaint from the governor or council or the House of Representatives, severally, of the colony in which the said chief justice and other judges have exercised the said offices."

118. The next resolution relates to the courts of admiralty. It is this:

III. "That it may be proper to regulate the courts of admiralty or vice-admiralty authorized by the fifteenth chapter of the fourth of George the Third, in such a manner as to make the same more commodious to those who sue or are sued in the said courts, and to provide for the more decent maintenance of the judges in the same."

119. These courts I do not wish to take away: they are in themselves proper establishments. This court is one of the capital securities of the Act of Navigation. The extent of its jurisdiction, indeed, has been increased; but this is altogether as proper, and is indeed on many accounts more eligible, where new powers were wanted, than a court absolutely new. But courts incommodiously situated, in effect, deny justice; and a court partaking in the fruits of its own condemnation is a robber. The Congress complain, and complain justly, of this grievance.

120. These are the three consequential propositions. I have thought of two or three more; but they come rather too near detail, and to the province of executive government, which I wish Parliament always to superintend, never to assume. If the first six are granted, congruity will carry the latter three. If not, the things that remain unrepealed will be, I hope, rather unseemly encumbrances on the building, than very materially detrimental to its strength and stability.

121. Here, Sir, I should close; but I plainly perceive some objections remain, which I ought, if possible, to remove. The first will be that, in resorting to the doctrine of our ancestors as contained in the preamble to the Chester Act, I prove too much; that the grievance from a want of representation, stated in that preamble, goes to the whole of legislation as well as to taxation. And that the colonies, grounding themselves upon that doctrine, will apply it to all parts of legislative authority.

122. To this objection, with all possible deference and humility, and wishing as little as any man living to impair the smallest particle of our supreme authority, I answer that *the words are the words of Parliament, and not mine,* and that all false and inconclusive inferences drawn from them are not mine, for I heartily disclaim any such inference. I have chosen the words of an act of Parliament which Mr. Grenville, surely a tolerably zealous and very judicious advocate for the sovereignty of Parliament, formerly moved to have read at your table in confirmation of his tenets. It is true that Lord Chatham considered these preambles as declaring strongly in favor of his opinions. He was a no less powerful advocate for the privileges of the Americans. Ought I not from hence to presume that these preambles are as favorable as possible to both, when properly understood—favorable both to the rights of Parliament, and to the privilege of the dependencies of this

crown? But, Sir, the object of grievance in my resolution I have not taken from the Chester, but from the Durham Act, which confines the hardship of want of representation to the case of subsidies, and which therefore falls in exactly with the case of the colonies. But whether the unrepresented counties were *de jure* or *de facto* bound, the preambles do not accurately distinguish; nor indeed was it necessary; for, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, the legislature thought the exercise of the power of taxing, as of right or as of fact without right, equally a grievance, and equally oppressive.

123. I do not know that the colonies have, in any general way or in any cool hour, gone much beyond the demand of immunity in relation to taxes. It is not fair to judge of the temper or dispositions of any man or any set of men when they are composed and at rest, from their conduct or their expressions in a state of disturbance and irritation. It is, besides, a very great mistake to imagine that mankind follow up practically any speculative principle, either of government or of freedom, as far as it will go in argument and logical illation. We Englishmen stop very short of the principles upon which we support any given part of our Constitution, or even the whole of it together. I could easily, if I had not already tired you, give you very striking and convincing instances of it. This is nothing but what is natural and proper. All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberty to enjoy civil advantages, so we must sacrifice some civil liberties for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire. But in all fair dealings, the thing bought must bear some proportion to the purchase paid. None will barter away the immediate

jewel of his soul. Though a great house is apt to make slaves haughty, yet it is purchasing a part of the artificial importance of a great empire too dear to pay for it all essential rights and all the intrinsic dignity of human nature. None of us who would not risk his life rather than fall under a government purely arbitrary. But although there are some among us who think our Constitution wants many improvements to make it a complete system of liberty, perhaps none who are of that opinion would think it right to aim at such improvement by disturbing his country and risking everything that is dear to him. In every arduous enterprise, we consider what we are to lose as well as what we are to gain; and the more and better stake of liberty every people possess, the less they will hazard in a vain attempt to make it more. These are *the cords of man*. Man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest, and not on metaphysical speculations. Aristotle, the great master of reasoning, cautions us, and with great weight and propriety, against this species of delusive geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, as the most fallacious of all sophistry.

124. The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England, when they are not oppressed by the weight of it; and they will rather be inclined to respect the acts of a superintending legislature when they see them the acts of that power which is itself the security, not the rival, of their secondary importance. In this assurance, my mind most perfectly acquiesces; and I confess I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease; nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights upon which I have always been taught to value myself.

125. It is said, indeed, that this power of granting, vested in American assemblies, would dissolve the unity of the empire, which was preserved entire, although Wales, and Chester, and Durham were added to it. Truly, Mr. Speaker, I do not know what this unity means; nor has it ever been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of subordination of parts excludes this notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head; but she is not the head and the members too. Ireland has[41] ever had from the beginning a separate, but not an independent legislature; which, far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. Everything was sweetly and harmoniously disposed through both islands for the conservation of English dominion and the communication of English liberties. I do not see that the same principles might not be carried into twenty islands, and with the same good effect. This is my model with regard to America, as far as the internal circumstances of the two countries are the same. I know no other unity of this empire than I can draw from its example during these periods, when it seemed to my poor understanding more united than it is now, or than it is likely to be by the present methods.

126. But since I speak of these methods, I recollect, Mr. Speaker, almost too late, that I promised, before I finished, to say something of the proposition of the noble lord on the floor, which has been so lately received, and stands on your journals. I must be deeply concerned whenever it is my misfortune to continue a difference with the majority of this House. But as the reasons for that difference are my apology for thus troubling you, suffer me to state them in a very few words. I shall compress them into as small a body as I possibly can, having already debated that matter at large when the question was before the committee.

127. First, then, I can not admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a mere project. It is a thing new, unheard of, supported by no experience, justified by no analogy, without example of our ancestors, or root in the Constitution. It is neither regular parliamentary taxation nor colony grant. *Experimentum in corpore vili*[42] is a good rule, which will ever make me adverse to any trial of experiments on what is certainly

the most valuable of all subjects—the peace of this empire.

128. Secondly, it is an experiment which must be fatal in the end to our Constitution. For what is it but a scheme for taxing the colonies in the antechamber of the noble lord and his successors? To settle the quotas and proportions in this House, is clearly impossible. You, Sir, may flatter yourself you shall sit a state auctioneer with your hammer in your hand, and knock down to each colony as it bids. But to settle, on the plan laid down by the noble lord, the true proportional payment for four or five and twenty governments, according to the absolute and the relative wealth of each, and according to the British proportion of wealth and burden, is a wild and chimerical notion. This new taxation must therefore come in by the back door of the Constitution. Each quota must be brought to this House ready formed. You can neither add nor alter. You must register it. You can do nothing further. For on what grounds can you deliberate either before or after the proposition? You can not hear the counsel for all these provinces quarreling each on its own quantity of payment, and its proportion to others. If you should attempt it, the committee of provincial ways and means, or by whatever other name it will delight to be called, must swallow up all the time of Parliament.

129. Thirdly, it does not give satisfaction to the complaint of the colonies. They complain that they are taxed without their consent; you answer that you will fix the sum at which they shall be taxed; that is, you give them the very grievance for the remedy. You tell them, indeed, that you will leave the mode to themselves. I really beg pardon; it gives me pain to mention it; but you must be sensible that you will not perform this part of the compact. For, suppose the colonies were to lay the duties which furnished their contingent upon the importation of your manufactures; you know you would never suffer such a tax to be laid. You know, too, that you would not suffer many other modes of taxation. So that, when you come to explain yourself, it will be found that you will neither

leave to themselves the quantum nor the mode, nor indeed anything. The whole is delusion from one end to the other.

130. Fourthly, this method of ransom by auction, unless it be *universally* accepted, will plunge you into great and inextricable difficulties. In what year of our Lord are the proportions of payments to be settled? To say nothing of the impossibility that colony agents should have general powers of taxing the colonies at their discretion, consider, I implore you, that the communication by special messages and orders between these agents and their constituents on each variation of the case, when the parties come to contend together and to dispute on their relative proportions, will be a matter of delay, perplexity, and confusion that never can have an end.

131. If all the colonies do not appear at the outcry, what is the condition of those assemblies who offer, by themselves or their agents, to tax themselves up to your ideas of their proportion? The refractory colonies who refuse all composition will remain taxed only to your old impositions, which, however grievous in principle, are trifling as to production. The obedient colonies in this scheme are heavily taxed; the refractory remain unburdened. What will you do? Will you lay new and heavier taxes by Parliament on the disobedient? Pray consider in what way you can do it. You are perfectly convinced that, in the way of taxing, you can do nothing but at the ports. Now suppose it is Virginia that refuses to appear at your auction, while Maryland and North Carolina bid handsomely for their ransom and are taxed to your quota: how will you put these colonies on a par? Will you tax the tobacco of Virginia? If you do, you give its death-wound to your English revenue at home, and to one of the very greatest articles of your own foreign trade. If you tax the import of that rebellious colony, what do you tax but your own manufactures, or the goods of some other obedient and already well-taxed colony? Who has said one word on this labyrinth of detail which bewilders you more and more as you enter into it? Who has presented, who can present you with a clew to lead you out of it? I think, Sir, it is impossible that you should not recollect that the colony bounds are so implicated in one another (you know it by your other experiments in the bill for prohibiting the New England fishery) that you can lay no possible restraints on almost any of them which may not be presently eluded, if you do not confound the innocent with the

guilty, and burden those whom, upon every principle, you ought to exonerate. He must be grossly ignorant of America who thinks that, without falling into this confusion of all rules of equity and policy, you can restrain any single colony, especially Virginia and Maryland, the central and most important of them all.

132. Let it also be considered that, either in the present confusion you settle a permanent contingent, which will and must be trifling, and then you have no effectual revenue; or you change the quota at every exigency, and then on every new repartition you will have a new quarrel.

133. Reflect, besides, that when you have fixed a quota for every colony, you have not provided for prompt and punctual payment. Suppose one, two, five, ten years' arrears: you can not issue a treasury extent against the failing colony. You must make new Boston Port Bills, new restraining laws, new acts for dragging men to England for trial. You must send out new fleets, new armies. All is to begin again. From this day forward the empire is never to know an hour's tranquillity. An intestine fire will be kept alive in the bowels of the colonies, which one time or other must consume this whole empire. I allow indeed that the Empire of Germany raises her revenue and her troops by quotas and contingents; but the revenue of the empire, and the army of the empire, is the worst revenue and the worst army in the world.

134. Instead of a standing revenue, you will therefore have a perpetual quarrel. Indeed, the noble lord who proposed this project of a ransom by auction seems himself to be of that opinion. His project was rather designed for breaking the union of the colonies than for establishing a revenue. He confessed he apprehended that his proposal would not be to their taste. I say this scheme of disunion seems to be at the bottom of the project; for

I will not suspect that the noble lord meant nothing but merely to delude the nation by an airy phantom which he never intended to realize. But whatever his views may be, as I propose the peace and union of the colonies as the very foundation of my plan, it can not accord with one whose foundation is perpetual discord.

135. Compare the two. This I offer to give you is plain and simple. The other full of perplexed and intricate mazes. This mild; that harsh. This is found by experience effectual for its purposes; the other is a new project. This is universal; the other calculated for certain colonies only. This is immediate in its conciliatory operations; the other remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes the dignity of a ruling people—gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as a matter of bargain and sale. I have done my duty in proposing it to you. I have indeed tired you by a long discourse; but this is the misfortune of those to whose influence nothing will be conceded, and who must win every inch of their ground by argument. You have heard me with goodness. May you decide with wisdom! For my part, I feel my mind greatly disburthened by what I have done to-day. I have been the less fearful of trying your patience, because on this subject I mean to spare it altogether in future. I have this comfort, that in every stage of the American affairs I have steadily opposed the measures that have produced the confusion, and may bring on the destruction, of this Empire. I now go so far as to risk a proposal of my own. If I can not give peace to my country, I give it to my conscience.

136. But what, says the financier, is peace to us without money? Your plan gives us no revenue. No! But it does; for it secures to the subject the power of refusal, the first of all revenues. Experience is a cheat, and fact a liar, if this power in the subject of proportioning his

grant, or of not granting at all, has not been found the richest mine of revenue ever discovered by the skill or by the fortune of man. It does not indeed vote you 152,750*l.* 11*s.* 2¾*d.*, nor any other paltry limited sum; but it gives the strong box itself, the fund, the bank—from whence only revenues can arise amongst a people sensible to freedom. *Posita luditur arca.*[43] Cannot you, in England—cannot you, at this time of day—cannot you, a House of Commons, trust to the principle which has raised so mighty a revenue, and accumulated a debt of near £140,000,000 in this country? Is this principle to be true in England, and false everywhere else? Is it not true in Ireland? Has it not hitherto been true in the colonies? Why should you presume that in any country a body duly constituted for any function will neglect to perform its duty, and abdicate its trust? Such a presumption would go against all governments in all modes. But, in truth, this dread of penury of supply from a free assembly, has no foundation in Nature. For first observe that, besides the desire which all men have naturally of supporting the honor of their own government, that sense of dignity and that security to property which ever attends freedom, has a tendency to increase the stock of the free community. Most may be taken where most is accumulated. And what is the soil or climate where experience has not uniformly proved that the voluntary flow of heaped-up plenty, bursting from the weight of its own rich luxuriance, has ever run with a more copious stream of revenue than could be squeezed from the dry husks of oppressed indigence by the straining of all the politic machinery in the world?

137. Next, we know that parties must ever exist in a free country. We know, too, that the emulations of such parties, their contradictions, their reciprocal necessities, their hopes, and their fears, must send them all in their

turns to him that holds the balance of the State. The parties are the gamesters; but the government keeps the table, and is sure to be the winner in the end. When this game is played, I really think it is more to be feared that the people will be exhausted, than that government will not be supplied. Whereas, whatever is got by acts of absolute power, ill obeyed, because odious, or by contracts, ill kept, because constrained, will be narrow, feeble, uncertain, and precarious.

*"Ease would retract vows made in pain, as violent and void."*

138. I, for one, protest against compounding our demands. I declare against compounding, for a poor limited sum, the immense, ever-growing, eternal debt which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom or in the way of compulsory compact.

139. But to clear up my ideas on this subject, a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it; no, not a shilling. We have experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects which you tax at home, she has performed

her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments, she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation, for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war, the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you, and serve you essentially.

140. For that service—for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire—my trust is in her interest in the British Constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which

you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made and must still preserve the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.

141. Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine, then, that it is the Land Tax Act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply which gives you your army? or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

142. All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross

and material, and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our station, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our situation and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda!*[14] We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive, and the only honorable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

143. In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now (*quod felix faustumque sit*)[15] lay the first stone of the Temple of Peace: and I move you—

144. *Moved,*

I. "That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of Parliament.

145. II. "That the said colonies and plantations have been liable to, and bounden by, several subsidies, payments, rates and taxes, given and granted by Parliament, though the said colonies and plantations have not their knights and burgesses in the said high court of Parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their country; by lack whereof they have been oftentimes touched and grieved by subsidies given, granted and assented to, in the said court, in a manner prejudicial to the commonwealth, quietness, rest and peace of the subjects inhabiting within the same.

146. III. "That, from the distance of the said colonies and from other circumstances, no method hath hitherto been devised for procuring a representation in Parliament for the said colonies.

147. IV. "That each of the said colonies hath within itself a body, chosen in part or in the whole by the freemen, freeholders or other free inhabitants thereof, commonly called the general assembly, or general court; with powers legally to raise, levy and assess, according to the several usages of such colonies, duties and taxes towards defraying all sorts of public services.

148. V. "That the said general assemblies, general courts, or other bodies legally qualified as aforesaid, have at sundry times freely granted several large subsidies and public aids for his Majesty's service, according to their abilities, when required thereto by letter from one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state; and that their right to grant the same and their cheerfulness and sufficiency in the said grants have been at sundry times acknowledged by Parliament.

149. VI. "That it hath been found by experience that the manner of granting the said supplies and aids by the said general assemblies hath been more agreeable to the inhabitants of the said colonies, and more beneficial and conducive to the public service, than the mode of giving and granting aids and subsidies in Parliament, to be raised and paid in the said colonies."

150. VII. "That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom, of coffee and cocoanuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on China earthenware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations.'

151. VII. "That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town and within the harbor of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America.'

152. IX. "That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'

153. X. "That it may be proper to repeal an act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, 'An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'

154. XI. "That it may be proper to explain and amend an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, entitled, 'An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the king's dominions.'

155. XII. "That from the time when the general assembly, or general court, of any colony or plantation in North America shall have appointed by act of assembly duly confirmed, a settled salary to the offices of the chief justice and other judges of the superior courts, it may be proper that the said chief justice and other judges of the superior courts of such colony shall hold his and their office and offices during their good behavior, and shall not be removed therefrom but when the said removal shall be adjudged by his Majesty in council, upon a hearing on complaint from the general assembly, or on a complaint from the governor or council or the house of representatives severally, of the colony in which the said chief justice and other judges have exercised the said offices.

156. XIII. "That it may be proper to regulate the courts of admiralty or vice-admiralty authorized by the fifteenth chapter of the fourth of George the Third, in such a manner as to make the same more commodious to those who sue and are sued in the said courts; and to provide for the more decent maintenance of the judges of the same."

Why was the British government so determined to assert its right to tax America?

What was Lord North's plan and why was it not suitable as a remedy?

State briefly the substance of Burke's conciliatory resolutions.

Chatham, Wilkes, and Burke each considered the American question one of the most important that had been brought before the House of Commons. How do they seem to differ regarding the reason for its importance?

If Burke's plan had been followed, what would probably have been the effect on the history of the British Empire?

How do you think the history of America would have been influenced if Burke's plan have been followed?

By what means did Burke hope to infuse the colonies with a patriotic love for English institutions and the empire?

Was any part of Burke's plan introduced into later colonial policy?

Discuss the accuracy of Burke's estimate of colonial character.

What democratic principle, advocated by Burke in this speech, has since his time become commonly accepted as characteristic of just and sound government?

How does Burke's style differ from that of Otis, Chatham, and Wilkes?

What are the persuasive advantages and disadvantages of such a style?

Would Burke's oratorical style be more or less acceptable in our day than it was in 1775? Why?

Comment briefly on Burke's emphasis on causes and results.

Enumerate the various motives to which Burke appealed.

Point out instances where Burke's diction is a source of persuasive power.

Knowing what you do of the audience and Burke's speech, how do you account for the fact that the House of Commons rejected his plan by a vote of 270 to 78?

## LIBERTY OR DEATH

March 23, 1775

On March 23, 1775, the old church at Richmond, Va., was crowded to the doors by the Convention of Delegates. George Washington and other prominent men were there in the audience. Five days previously, Henry had spoken of war with England as inevitable, and had introduced resolutions for defense. Many of the ablest men in the colonies considered this action premature. Many conceded that war was possible, even probable; but no one had ventured to declare it unavoidable. Feeling against the Mother Country was running decidedly high, and when Henry had concluded his "individual declaration of war against Great Britain," the Convention of Delegates was a new body. "To arms," seemed to quiver on every lip; their souls were on fire for action. Tyler says, "Henry rose with an unearthly fire burning in his eye. He commenced somewhat calmly, but the smothered excitement began more and more to play upon his features and thrill in the tones of his voice. The tendons of his neck stood out white and rigid like whipcords. His voice rose louder and louder, until the walls of the building, and all within them seemed to shake and rock in its tremendous vibrations. Finally his pale face and glaring eyes became terrible to look upon. Men leaned forward in their seats, with their heads strained forward, their faces pale, and their eyes glaring like the speaker's. His last exclamation, 'Give me liberty or give me death!' was like the shout of the leader which turns the rout of battle."

# LIBERTY OR DEATH

PATRICK HENRY

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony.

The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to

know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry, for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile[1] with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourself to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains, which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication?

What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of

liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry "Peace, peace"—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

To what land did Henry refer when in the second paragraph he spoke of treason to his country?

Does Henry offer sound arguments for immediate action?

Had the injustice of the British government materially affected living conditions in America?

Does Henry anywhere appeal to the ambitions of his hearers or hold before them financial or material arguments for independence?

Discuss the persuasive value of Henry's offering to stand alone unto death, if need be, rather than submit. Refer to other instances in history or literature of similar emotional appeal.

Point out the many biblical phrases and comment on their persuasive value.

To what motives and emotions did Henry address his appeal?

As compared with Otis, is his speech chiefly argumentative or persuasive?

Is the current popularity of this speech due chiefly to its literary value, to its historical associations, or to its appreciation of liberty?

# WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

September 19, 1796

GEORGE WASHINGTON busied himself with the affairs of his household and estate for one month after he had listened to Patrick Henry's impassioned appeal; and then, at the call of the Continental Congress, set out, May 3, 1775, for Philadelphia. He little dreamed that eight years would go by before he would again be free to enjoy the leisure of his home and fields.

On June 15, 1775, he was made commander-in-chief of the American forces. A few weeks later at Cambridge he inspected the troops and found them without discipline, without munitions, and without food. In response to his most urgent requisitions, Congress either granted supplies grudgingly or delayed action. How under these disheartening conditions he was able to form an army and lead it to victory is almost incomprehensible.

The state of public opinion, moreover, caused Washington nearly as much concern as the condition of his army. He was continually harassed by hostile criticism. More than once, against his better judgment, he was forced to fight battles that became defeats. But at last the righteousness of the cause and his indomitable courage prevailed. In the course of six years he led his army through Valley Forge to Yorktown, where in 1781 Cornwallis surrendered.

On Christmas Eve, 1783, Washington returned to Mount Vernon, hoping to pass his life with his household in peaceful enjoyment of the victory he had won.

It was not to be his privilege, however, to live the life of a private citizen. Those were perilous years that followed the war. Once when bloodshed and insurrection seemed imminent, by personal influence Washington had quelled the disturbance and had aroused the patriotism of the disputants. In like manner from time to time he was summoned from Mount Vernon when danger menaced the country in near or remote regions. Finally in 1787, when the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia, he was made chairman. Washington had feared that when disputes arose, the Confederation—which was merely a league of friendship—would lack power to compel obedience. He had called it a shadow without substance. At the Constitutional Convention, accordingly, he assisted Hamilton in securing the adoption of a constitution that created a strong central government.

In 1789, when elected president, he possessed in this constitution the working-plan for forming a Union. But he was without models or precedents for such statecraft. Out of thirteen diverse commonwealths, it was his duty to build a nation. He had even to create a national spirit. Under the Confederation the states had been loosely joined and had regarded one another with almost as much jealousy as if they had been foreign countries. The wonder was not that there were differences in 1789 but rather that they had been able to unite as they did in 1775. Almost every one regarded the Union as an experiment and many believed that it could not long exist. The Constitution had not been adopted unanimously; and a thousand men were already advocating a thousand changes. Some states were on the verge of secession; there were post-revolutionary troubles such as now exist in Russia; demagogues were rampant. Only the clear-eyed

could see anything but confusion. The story, which will not be told here, of how Washington unified and harmonized these diverse and conflicting elements, is even more marvelous than the account of the victory he had won over England by the aid of his ragged and half-starved troops.

When at length indecision and confusion had been banished, Washington found that definite and very real perils had taken their place. On account of economic differences the South became pitted against the North. A part of the people wish to join with the French revolutionists in their war against England; others wanted to fight Spain, with the hope of opening up the Mississippi valley. In Pennsylvania the authority of the Federal government to lay taxes had been disputed and it took fifteen thousand men to end the uprising. These newer perils Washington met one by one and terminated them, or at least made them less dangerous.

It was with no little sacrifice that Washington devoted himself to public affairs. His tastes were naturally domestic. He took no pleasure in glory or vain show. He would have preferred to live quietly on the estate that he had cherished and adorned in the early years of his manhood. More than once he had suggested retirement from public life but had been persuaded by the appeals of his countrymen to resume the burden of government. Finally, however, near the close of his second term as president, he realized that no persuasion, however appreciative or loyal, could heal the infirmities of age; and he declined to be a candidate for reëlection.

He had devoted forty-five years of his life to his country and for twenty-five years had rendered service that no other man could have given. With an affection

for the Union as fervent as the love of a father for his child, he prepared his *Farewell Address.* His words reflect the labors, sacrifices, and hopes of one who had led his country through the most critical period of its history and was at length compelled to place the supreme object of his affection in the hands of others. With parental solicitude Washington appealed to the American people to act thoughtfully, deliberately, and reasonably in all that concerns the welfare of the country. With sagacity and insight almost prophetic, he warned them against perils without and perils within. So thoughtfully is his advice expressed that it is as valuable to-day as when first written. Its maxims are founded both upon the wisdom that comes from experience and upon sound principles of government.

## FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

GEORGE WASHINGTON

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a [1] new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained [2] on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organiza-

tion and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of [3] the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you

the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on[4] a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to

foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the [5] Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the

most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North,* in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South,* protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North,* sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North,* it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East,* in a like intercourse with the *West,* already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation.* Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportion-

ably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concernment that any ground should have been furnished for character-

izing parties by geographical discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern, Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the [6] treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicious propagation among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of [7] two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a con-

stitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above descriptions may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws and to maintain all in

the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated [8] the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments

occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has

been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument for good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it,

can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security,[9] cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and

morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent[10] inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachment for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by

pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base of foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of

a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may

choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forgo the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine senses. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as

experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character, that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relating to the still subsisting war in Europe,[11] my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me,

uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease

to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

Nearly two thousand amendments to the constitution of the United States have been formally proposed. Those that have been adopted have in the main supported what policy of Washington's?

Were any of Washington's fears of the fury of party spirit ever realized in America?

What do you suppose would be Washington's attitude toward party government such as exists in the United States to-day?

What circumstances make Washington's policy of national isolation less practicable to-day than in 1796?

Is there in the *Farewell Address* any statement of policy that would justify our participation in the World War?

What is Washington's attitude toward military preparedness?

Can you find in Washington's life or policy any reason for believing that he would favor disarmament to-day?

What differences in style do you find as you compare this address with Patrick Henry's speech? Glance at Beecher's *Speech at Liverpool* and make a comparison.

Do you believe this speech would have at once created a

favorable impression if Washington had delivered it orally before Congress?

What elements of persuasion, as distinguished from common sense and argument, do you find in this address?

What reason is there for calling Washington "The Father of his Country"?

# WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ADDRESS

June 17, 1825

There came to the United States of America in 1815 a remarkable period of peace and prosperity. The War for Independence had been carried to a successful conclusion and the thirteen original states under enlarged Federal authority had been drawn into a well-organized union. Minor difficulties with France or England had been removed through war or diplomacy. At this happy time, state after state was added to the Union. In territory, in population, in wealth, in education, unexampled progress was made. It was a period when undisturbed by rumors of war, for the anti-slavery contest had not yet become critical, Americans turned again at their leisure, as in the colonial days, to consider the fundamental principles of government and sought to shape anew their expanding political ideals.

It was fitting, therefore, that when a vast assemblage of Americans met at Bunker Hill on June 17, 1825, to lay the corner stone of a monument commemorating the heroic deeds of the men of 1776, that Daniel Webster, the orator of the day, should use the occasion to inspire his countrymen with the spirit of true patriotism. He reminded his hearers of the power of public opinion to make right supreme over might, and he urged them to emulate the example of their forefathers, that the young and growing nation—"the

last hope of mankind"—might have a beneficent effect on the progress of the world.

This oration is the finest example of commemorative address, ancient or modern, that the world has seen. It was not a speech, that in a dramatic crisis moved men to perform an act or make a decision that would turn the course of history to a new direction; but not on that account should its influence be belittled. It helped to shape American ideals. It formulated and made dynamic the first fifty years of American history, and recorded for all time some of the dearly-purchased principles of democracy.

The occasion in itself was most impressive. It was a mild June morning. Rain the previous day had brought to trees and grass their brightest green. Overhead was a sky almost cloudless; and in the distance shimmered the blue harbor, the scene of the Boston Tea Party. The great audience was gathered on the very eminence where the Battle of Bunker Hill had been fought. At the left was marked the spot where Warren fell. On the platform beside Webster was Lafayette, most beloved among the distinguished foreigners who had come to America during the Revolution to serve in the cause of freedom. Near by were forty survivors of the battle, some of them dressed in their old uniforms—men who were now aged and feeble.

When the orator arose to speak the vast assemblage was silent with reverent attention. Never was occasion more fit for a great commemorative address.

# ORATION ON THE LAYING OF THE CORNERSTONE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

## Daniel Webster

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground, distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great Continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided

our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony[1] forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow

by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together in this place by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society whose organ I am [2] was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought, that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument [3] we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for His blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it

pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not indistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the

purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising toward heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN![4] you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over our heads; the same ocean rolls at our feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charles-

town. The ground strewed with the dead and dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defense. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and He has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

The Battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and

addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.[5] He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! With what measure of

devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended to the last extremity by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold; they now stretch forth their feeble arms and embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We

would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serus in coelum redeas.*"[6] Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our conditions, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other Continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great

degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the masterwork of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the

same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the State,"[7] he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the State; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the ap-

propriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:

> "Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me TO SEE,—and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments who do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks [5] has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force; and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal right, with good laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as

durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The *principle* of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and

of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!

Exactly what did Webster wish to commemorate?

In what sense is this speech a valedictory of the American Revolution?

In what respects was the occasion fit for a commemorative address?

Did the orator in delivering this address contend with opposition of any sort?

Why is formal argument out of place in this address?

Point out instances where Webster used persons or places to make his words persuasive.

Why were current events given a place in this commemorative address?

State as briefly as possible the thought that underlies the address as a whole.

Point out respects in which Webster's ideal of government is more democratic than Chatham's.

# WEBSTER'S REPLY TO HAYNE

January 26, 1830

In 1824 when Henry Clay proposed a tariff bill which raised the duty on imported goods to thirty-three and a third per cent and to a minimum of thirty cents a yard on cotton cloth, the measure was opposed by Daniel Webster. He maintained that English manufacturers had prospered in spite of protection, not because of it; and he questioned the wisdom of attempting to support a business that "cannot support itself." Much more outspoken in their opposition to a protective tariff at this time, however, were Calhoun, Randolph, and other southern statesmen. They held that the current import duties were designed to rob the southern agriculturists for the benefit of New England.

In 1828 when a still higher tariff was under discussion Webster failed to oppose the measure. While in theory he was still inclined to free trade, he believed it unwise to press his own views since the country had committed itself to protection in 1824 and various industries had been organized with that understanding. This change in his public policy, without regard for his conflicting personal feelings, is a tribute to the earnestness and sincerity of his patriotism. The bill when passed was dubbed by the South, The Tariff of Abominations. Unable to overcome the sentiment in favor of protection in Congress, Vice-President Calhoun formulated his doctrine of Nullification.

According to this theory, any state might forbid the operation within its limits of any act of Congress which in its opinion did not accord with the Federal Constitution. Although rumors of South Carolina's advocacy of Nullification were current, the doctrine was never presented in Congress until a Land Bill was debated in 1830.

This measure which proposed to cease temporarily, the marketing of public land, was strenuously opposed by members of Congress from the Western States. Mr. Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, was quick to note this lack of agreement between the West and the East, and he attempted to use the difference of opinion for the benefit of his own state. He proposed that the South and West unite their forces in Congress to secure desired legislation. The South was to get a lower tariff and the West was to obtain legislation that would facilitate the marketing of public land. In furthering this plan he eulogized South Carolina and attacked New England from many points of view. In particular he criticized the tariff legislation favored by New England and, in the course of his discussion, set forth for the first time a full exposition of Calhoun's doctrine of Nullification.

The day following Hayne's speech, Webster, then in his first term as senator from Massachusetts, made his famous reply. He had had only the intervening night in which to make formal preparation, but he never spoke to better advantage. In clearness and dignity of language, and in force of argument, his speech is unsurpassed. His words, as Lodge says, which rang out in 1830 in the Senate Chamber have come down through the long years of political conflict and civil war and at last have become part of the political creed of every one of his countrymen. He expressed what

the truest patriots of his time felt but could not say. He defined the character of the Union.

## REPLY TO HAYNE

### Daniel Webster

Let me observe that the eulogium pronounced by the honorable gentleman [1] on the character of the State of South Carolina, for her Revolutionary and other merits, meets my hearty concurrence.[2] I shall not acknowledge that the honorable member goes before me in regard to whatever of distinguished talent, or distinguished character, South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honor; I partake in the pride of her great names. I claim them for countrymen, one and all—the Laurenses, the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Marions —Americans all, whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by state lines, than their talents and patriotism were capable to being circumscribed within the same narrow limits. In their day and generation they served and honored the country, and the whole country; and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him whose honored name [3] the gentleman himself bears,— does he esteem me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism, or sympathy for his sufferings, than if his eyes had first opened upon the light of Massachusetts instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir, increased gratification and delight, rather. I thank God that, if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit which would drag angels down. When I shall be found, sir, in my place

here in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit, because it happens to spring up beyond the little limits of my own state or neighborhood; when I refuse, for any such cause or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or, if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven, if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue, in any son of the South, and if, moved by local prejudice or gangrened by state jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections; let me indulge in refreshing remembrance of the past; let me remind you that, in early times, no states cherished greater harmony, both in principle and feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return! Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution; hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling (if it exists), alienation, and distrusts are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts; she needs none. There she is! Behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for Independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every state from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever. And, Sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sus-

tained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it, if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at it and tear it, if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint shall succeed in separating it from that Union by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever vigor it may still retain over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amid the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain that it is a right of the state legislatures to interfere whenever, in their judgment, this government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws. I understand him to maintain this right, as a right existing under the Constitution, not as a right to overthrow it on the ground of extreme necessity, such as would justify violent revolution. I understand him to insist that, if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any state government, require it, such state government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the general government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the state legislators, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity

of maintaining, not only that this general government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally, so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution,[4] the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition or dispute their authority.

The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The general government and the State governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary. The national government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State governments, or to the people themselves.

I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the States derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded on a total misapprehension, in my judg-

ment, of the origin of this government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws.

We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments. It is of no moment to the argument, that certain acts of the State legislatures are necessary to fill our seats in this body. That is not one of their original State powers, a part of the sovereignty of the State. It is a duty which the people, by the Constitution itself, have imposed on the State legislatures, and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere, if they had seen fit. So they have left the choice of president with electors; but all this does not affect the proposition that this whole government, president, Senate, and House of Representatives, is a popular government. It leaves it still all its popular character. The governor of a State (in some of the States) is chosen, not directly by the people, but by those who are chosen by the people, for the purpose of performing, among other duties, that of electing a governor. Is the government of the State, on that account, not a popular government? This government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence,

established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, among others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. The States cannot now make war; they cannot contract alliances; they cannot make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they cannot lay imposts; they cannot coin money. If this Constitution, sir, be the creature of State legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volitions of its creators.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation, such as it suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot even now persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing once more deep conviction that, since it represents nothing less than the union of the States, it is of the most vital and essential importance to the public happiness.

I profess, sir, in my career hitherto to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influence those great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility

and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether with my short sight I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how this Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed.

While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first

and Union afterward"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

What was the rhetorical and persuasive effect of Webster's praise of South Carolina?

From what source does Webster derive all legal authority?

In what sense is the Constitution the supreme law of the land?

Whose views were the more democratic, Hayne's or Webster's?

What reason is there for maintaining that this speech was one of the important influences that brought on the Civil War?

To what motives did Webster appeal in this speech?

## ADDRESS AT COOPER INSTITUTE

February 27, 1860

At the close of the Revolution Massachusetts abolished slavery, and her example was gradually followed by the other states north of Virginia. At that time in the South also it seemed probable that little by little slavery would disappear until the entire territory of the United States was free. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793, however, increased many times the profit that could be gained from slave labor and arrested the movement for abolition. After the beginning of the nineteenth century the prosperity of the South seemed to depend on the continuance of slavery.

In the North the sentiment for abolition meanwhile grew stronger, but the difference of opinion between the two sections was not yet so profound as to prevent the adoption in 1820 of Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise which limited the spread of slavery in the territories north of latitude 36° 30′. In 1830 in Boston, William Lloyd Garrison began to publish *The Liberator* and thereby initiated in the face of great opposition even in the North an aggressive struggle against slavery.

In 1850 again Henry Clay was able to secure in Congress, with great difficulty, a colorless compromise between the two conflicting sections. Among its terms was a provision that the territories of Utah and New Mexico were to be organized without any Federal action concerning slavery. It was not long, however, before slavery was introduced into these terri-

tories through the action of their territorial legislatures. This result enabled Stephen A. Douglas, the leader of the Northern Democrats, to secure by the aid of Southern votes the passage by Congress in 1854 of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, a measure that abrogated the Missouri Compromise and left to home rule or "popular sovereignty" to determine whether Kansas and Nebraska were to be free or slave. To combat this measure the Republican party was organized.

In 1857, however, the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott decision, held that the Constitution recognized slaves as property which Congress must protect. This view, unexpectedly favorable to slavery, was at once adopted by the South in place of Douglas's theory of state authority or "popular sovereignty." The Democrats in the North were unwilling to support the Dred Scott decision as it seemed to place slavery under the protection of Congress and to do away with all future possibility of compromise. Many of the Northern Democrats at this time accordingly were forced from their neutral position and preferring to oppose rather than defend slavery were absorbed by the Republican party.

In 1858 in Illinois Douglas was the candidate of the Democratic party for the United States Senate and Abraham Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans. Lincoln challenged Douglas, who was a highly educated and brilliant speaker, to a series of seven public debates; and Douglas accepted on the condition that he should both open and close each debate. The contest has been called the greatest "intellectual wrestle" that has taken place in America. The speeches were reported throughout the country and the contest was followed with interest everywhere. Although the legislature sent Douglas to the Senate,

the people supported Lincoln. It was generally conceded that he had had the better of the argument, and Illinois went Republican by five thousand majority. All over the North the people were eager to see this young giant of the West who in force of logic and strategic ability had proved his superiority to one of the foremost politicians and debaters of the time.

When Lincoln was invited in October, 1859, by the Young Men's Republican Club of New York City to deliver a political address before their association, he accepted with eagerness. Douglas had recently spoken at Columbus and had reaffirmed his doctrine of "popular sovereignty" for the control of slavery. He had attempted to ground his views upon the authority of the Constitution and the writings of the founders of the republic. He had closed his speech by saying, "Our fathers, when they framed this government under which we live, understood this question as well and even better, than we do now." To these sentiments Lincoln determined to reply; and he worked long and laboriously to make his answer conclusive.

Finally, on February 27, 1860, in the large hall of Cooper Institute, he rose to give his address before a great audience. He was far from feeling confident. He spoke the first sentences with diffidence— But why write the story anew? It is told in the words of one who heard him speak. Joseph Choate says:

"It is now forty years since I first saw and heard Abraham Lincoln, but the impression which he left on my mind is ineffaceable. After his great successes in the West he came to New York to make a political address. He appeared in every sense of the word like one of the plain people among whom he loved to be counted. At first sight there was nothing impressive or imposing about him—except that his great stature

singled him out from the crowd; his clothes hung awkwardly on his giant frame, his face was of a dark pallor, without the slightest tinge of color; his seamed and rugged features bore the furrows of hardship and struggle; his deep-set eyes looked sad and anxious; his countenance in repose gave little evidence of that brain power which had raised him from the lowest to the highest station among his countrymen; as he talked to me before the meeting, he seemed ill at ease, with that sort of apprehension which a young man might feel before presenting himself to a new and strange audience, whose critical disposition he dreaded. It was a great audience, including all the noted men—all the learned and cultured—of his party in New York: editors, clergymen, statesmen, lawyers, merchants, critics. They were all very curious to hear him. His fame as a powerful speaker had preceded him, and exaggerated rumor of his wit—the worst forerunner of an orator—had reached the East. When Mr. Bryant presented him, on the high platform of Cooper Institute, a vast sea of eager faces, upturned, greeted him, full of intense curiosity to see what this rude child of the people was like. He was equal to the occasion. When he spoke he was transformed; his eyes kindled, his voice rang, his face shone and seemed to light up the whole assembly. For an hour and a half he held his audience in the hollow of his hand. His style of speech and manner of delivery were severely simple. What Lowell called 'The grand simplicities of the Bible,' with which he was so familiar, were reflected in his discourse. With no attempt at ornament or rhetoric, without parade or pretence, he spoke straight to the point. If any came expecting the turgid eloquence or the ribaldry of the frontier, they must have been startled at the earnest

and sincere purity of his utterances. It was marvellous to see how this untutored man, by mere self-discipline and the chastening of his own spirit, had outgrown all meretricious arts, and found his own way to the grandeur and strength of absolute simplicity."

"That night the great hall, and the next day the whole city rang with delighted applause and congratulations, and he who had come as a stranger departed with the laurels of a great triumph."

It was the last time that Abraham Lincoln spoke as a stranger before any audience. He who had been the leader of the Republicans of the Middle West had now become the foremost Republican of America. He was nominated for the presidency in the convention at Chicago on May 16, 1860, and was elected president the following November.

Lincoln's speech at Cooper Union was influential in unifying Northern anti-slavery sentiment, in insuring the success of the anti-slavery party, and in securing for America the election of a great president and a great moral leader.

## ADDRESS AT COOPER INSTITUTE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus Ohio, as reported in the New York *Times,* Senator Douglas said:

> Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now.

I fully endorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States."[1] That Constitution consists of the original framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." What is the question which, according to the test, those fathers understood "just as well and even better than we do now"?

It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and

Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue—this question—is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we." Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and, if they did, how they acted upon it—how they expressed that understanding.

We have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the government under which we live," who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths,[2] acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better, than we do now"; and twenty-one of them—a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine"—so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and willful perjury, if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and Federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of Federal control of slavery in the Federal Territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon the question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted what ever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and for the same reason I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by

any of the "thirty-nine" even on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave trade and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times —as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris—while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from Federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal Territories; while all the rest had probably the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

And now, if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemna-

tion of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite—license, so to speak—among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now, can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section—gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then, in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your

section; and so meet us as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live" thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown![3] John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair, but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such

results. We do not believe it. We know we hold no doctrine, and make no declaration, which were not held to and made by "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live." You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important state elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charges, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood, and thunder among the slaves.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the

oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than in his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon,[4] and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book,[5] and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling—that sentiment—by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballet box into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right

is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and force the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The court has substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live"—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago: decided it without a division among themselves when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through

his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what the robber demanded of me—my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if in the future we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know, because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, What will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must somehow convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our

organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery *wrong,* and join them in calling it *right.* And this must be done thoroughly—done in *acts* as well as in *words.* Silence will not be tolerated—we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free-State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone; do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone,—have never disturbed them,—so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not as yet in terms demanded the overthrow of our Free-State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand

the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if it is wrong they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical controversies wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored,—contrivances such as groping from some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor

a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule and calling not the sinners but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

Compare Lincoln's style in this speech with the style of his shorter masterpieces.

Discuss the argumentative and persuasive value of the phrase "our fathers who framed the government under which we live."

What evidence is furnished by this speech to show that Lincoln was a shrewd debater?

What effect would you expect this speech to have on an audience in New York City in Lincoln's day?

What is the significance of the expression "black Republican"?

Compare the "opposition" against which Lincoln contended with that encountered by earlier American orators.

What circumstances in the situation entitle Lincoln to be called heroic because of his delivery of this speech?

In what respects is the question discussed by Lincoln in this speech the same as that discussed by Webster in his *Reply to Hayne?*

What were Lincoln's views concerning the constitutionality of slavery?

In what respects was Lincoln, in this speech, conservative and in what respects revolutionary?

How did this speech assist in extending and enlarging America's conception of democracy?

# BRECKENRIDGE-BAKER DEBATE ON THE WAR

August 1, 1861

This debate, it is said, produced the most dramatic scene that ever occurred in Congress. It took place in a period of deepest depression at the beginning of the Civil War, when the Confederacy was most defiant, and most successful. Although disaster had followed disappointment and the rebel army was but twenty miles from Washington, the war was being fought in an aimless and half-hearted way, for men with Southern sympathies were still powerful in Congress.

Such was the condition on August 1, 1861, when there was taken up for discussion the Insurrection and Sedition Bill, an act that provided for martial instead of civil law in such districts as were designated by the President as in a state of insurrection. On the day set for the debate, when it was learned that Senator Breckenridge of Kentucky was about to deliver in opposition to this bill the speech he had been preparing, the Republican senators conferred as who should be selected to make the reply. They agreed that the task should be given to Baker, who at the time was drilling his regiment at the foot of Meridan Hill, about a mile from the Senate Chamber.

On receiving the summons, Baker sprang at once into the saddle and without change of clothes rode to the Capitol. In his colonel's uniform he entered the eastern door while Breckenridge was still speaking.

Advancing to his seat, he laid his sword across his desk and listened restlessly to the speech. As soon as the Senator from Kentucky had concluded, he sprang to the floor, his face aglow with excitement.

At the conclusion of his impromptu speech, he remounted his horse and rode back to his regiment. He died heroically a few weeks later at the battle of Ball's Bluff. Breckenridge became a major-general in the Confederate army, and finally was made secretary of war for the Confederate States.

## DEBATE ON THE WAR

### John C. Breckenridge

Mr. President: Gentlemen talk about the Union as if it was an end instead of a means. They talk about it as if it was the Union of these states which alone had brought into life the principles of public and of personal liberty. Sir, they existed before, and they may survive it. Take care that in destroying one idea you do not destroy not only the Constitution of your country, but sever what remains of the Federal Union. These external and sacred principles of public men and of personal liberty, which lived before the Union and will live forever and ever somewhere, must be respected; they cannot with impunity be overthrown; and if you force the people to the issue between any form of government and these priceless principles, that form of government will perish; they will tear it asunder as the irrepressible forces of nature rend whatever opposes them.

Mr. President, we are on the wrong tack; we have been from the beginning. The people begin to see it. Here we

have been hurling gallant fellows on to death, and the blood of Americans has been shed—for what? They have shown their prowess, respectively—that which belongs to the race—and shown it like men. But for what have the United States soldiers, according to the exposition we have here to-day, been shedding their blood and displaying their dauntless courage? It has been to carry out principles that three-fourths of them abhor; for the principles contained in this bill and continually avowed on the floor of the Senate, are not shared, I venture to say, by one-fourth of the army.

I have said, sir, that we are on the wrong tack. Nothing but ruin, utter ruin, to the North, to the South, to the East, to the West will follow the prosecution of this contest. You may look forward to countless treasures all spent for the purpose of desolating and ravaging this continent; at the end leaving us just where we are now; or if the forces of the United States are successful in ravaging the whole South, what on earth will be done with it after that is accomplished? Are not gentlemen now perfectly satisfied that they have mistaken a people for a faction? Are they not perfectly satisfied that to accomplish their object, it is necessary to subjugate to conquer—ay, to exterminate—nearly ten millions of people? Do you not know it? Does not everybody know it? Does not the world know it?[1] Let us pause, and let the Congress of the United States respond to the rising feeling all over this land in favor of peace.[2] War is separation; in the language of an eminent gentleman now no more, it is disunion, eternal and final disunion. We have separation now; it is only made worse by war, and an utter extinction of all those sentiments of common interest and feeling which might lead to political reunion founded upon consent and upon a conviction of its advantages. Let the war go on, however, and soon in addition to the moans

of widows and orphans all over this land, you will hear the cry of distress from those who want food and the comforts of life. The people will be unable to pay the grinding taxes which a fanatical spirit will attempt to impose upon them. Nay, more, sir; you will see further separation. The Pacific slope now, doubtless, is devoted to the union of states. Let this war go on till they find the burdens of taxation greater than the burdens of a separate condition, and they will assert it. Let the war go on until they see the beautiful features of the old Confederacy beaten out of shape and comeliness by the brutalizing hand of war, and they will turn aside in disgust from the sickening spectacle, and become a separate nation. Fight twelve months longer, and the already opening differences that you see between New England and the great Northwest will develop themselves. You have two confederacies now. Fight twelve months and you will have three; twelve months longer, and you will have four.

I will not enlarge upon it, sir. I am quite aware that all I say is received with a sneer of incredulity [3] by the gentlemen who represent the far Northeast; but let the future determine who was right and who was wrong. We are making our record here; I, my humble one, amid the sneers and aversion of nearly all who surround me, giving my votes, and uttering my utterances according to my convictions, with but few approving voices, and surrounded by scowls. The time will soon come, Senators, when history will put her final seal upon these proceedings, and if my name shall be recorded there, going along with yours as an actor in these scenes, I am willing to abide, fearlessly, her final judgment.

EDWARD D. BAKER

MR. PRESIDENT: It has not been my fortune to participate in at any length, indeed, nor to hear very much of, the discussion which has been going on—more, I think, in the hands of the Senator from Kentucky than anybody else—upon all the propositions connected with this war; and as I really feel as sincerely as he can an earnest desire to preserve the Constitution of the United States for everybody, South as well as North, I have listened for some little time past to what he has said with an earnest desire to apprehend the point of his objection to this particular bill.

Mr. President, the honorable senator says there is a state of war. The Senator from Vermont [4] agrees with him; or rather, he agrees with the Senator from Vermont in that. What then? There is a state of public war; none the less war because it is urged from the other side; not the less war because it is unjust; not the less war because it is a war of insurrection and rebellion. It is still war; and I am willing to say it is public war,—public as contra-distinguished from private war. What then? Shall we carry that war on? Is it his duty as a senator to carry it on? If so, how? By armies under command; by military organization and authority, advancing to suppress insurrection and rebellion. Is that wrong? Is that unconstitutional? Are we not bound to do, with whoever levies war against us, as we would do if he were a foreigner? There is no distinction as to the mode of carrying on war; we carry on war against an advancing army just the same whether it be from Russia or from South Carolina. Will the honorable senator tell me it is our duty to stay here, within fifteen miles of the enemy seeking to advance upon us every hour, and talk about nice questions of constitutional construction as to whether it is war or merely insurrection? No, sir. It is our

duty to advance, if we can; to suppress insurrection; to put down rebellion; to dissipate the rising; to scatter the enemy; and when we have done so, to preserve, in the terms of the bill, the liberty, lives, and property of the people of the country, by just and fair police regulations.

I agree that we ought to do all that we can to limit, to restrain, to fetter the abuse of military power. Bayonets are at best illogical arguments. I am not willing, except as a case of sheerest necessity, ever to permit a military commander to exercise authority over life, liberty, and property. But, sir, it is part of the law of war; you cannot carry in the rear of your army your courts; you cannot organize juries; you cannot have trials according to the forms and ceremonial of the common law amid the clangor of arms; and somebody must enforce police regulations in a conquered or occupied district. I ask the Senator from Kentucky again respectfully, is that unconstitutional; or if in the nature of war it must exist, even if there be no law passed by us to allow it, is it unconstitutional to regulate it? That is the question, to which I do not think he will make clear and distinct reply.

I confess, Mr. President, that I would not have predicted three weeks ago the disasters which have overtaken our arms; and I do not think (if I were to predict now) that six months hence the senator will indulge in the same tone of prediction which is his favorite key now. I would ask him what would you have us do now—a Confederate army within twenty miles of us, advancing or threatening to advance, to overwhelm our government; to shake the pillars of the Union; to bring it round your head, if you stay here, in ruins? Are we to stop and talk about an uprising sentiment in the North against the war? Are we to predict evil, and retire from what we predict? Is it not the manly part to go on as we have begun, to raise money, and levy armies, to organize them, to prepare to

advance; when we do advance, to regulate that advance by all the laws and regulations that civilization and humanity will allow in time of battle? Can we do anything more? To talk to us about stopping is idle; we will never stop. Will the senator yield to rebellion? Will he shrink from armed insurrection? Will his state justify it? Will its better public opinion allow it? Shall we send a flag of truce? What would he have? Or would he conduct this war so feebly, that the whole world would smile at us in derision? What would he have? These speeches of his, sown broadcast over the land, what clear distinct meaning have they? Are they not intended for disorganization in our very midst? Are they not intended to dull our weapons? Are they not intended to destroy our zeal? Are they not intended to animate our enemies? Sir, are they not words of brilliant, polished treason, even in the very Capitol of the Confederacy? [5]

I tell the senator that his predictions, sometimes for the South, sometimes for the Middle States, sometimes for the Northeast, and then wandering away in airy visions out to the far Pacific, about the dread of our people, as for loss of blood and treasure, provoking them to disloyalty, are false in sentiment, false in fact, and false in loyalty. The Senator from Kentucky is mistaken in them all. Five hundred million dollars. What then? Great Britain gave more than two thousand million in the great battle for constitutional liberty which she led at one time almost single-handed against the world. Five hundred thousand men. What then? We have them; they are ours; they are the children of the country. They belong to the whole country; they are our sons; our kinsmen; and there are many of us who will give them all up before we will abate one word of our just demand, or retreat one inch from the line which divides right from wrong.

Sir, it is not a question of men or of money in that sense. All the money, all the men, are, in our judgment, well bestowed in such a cause. When we give them, we know their value. Knowing their value well,[6] we give them with the more pride and the more joy. Sir, how can we retreat? Sir, how can we make peace? Who shall treat? What commissioners? Who would go? Upon what terms? Where is to be your boundary line? Where the end of the principles we shall have to give up? What will become of our constitutional government? What will become of public liberty? What of past glories? What of future hopes? Shall we sink into the insignificance of the grave—a degraded, defeated, emasculated people, frightened by the results of one battle, and scared at the visions raised upon this floor by the imagination of the Senator from Kentucky? No, sir; a thousand times, no, sir. We will rally—if, indeed, our words be necessary—we will rally the people, the loyal people, of the whole country. They will pour forth their treasure, their money, their men, without stint, without measure. The most peaceable man in this body may stamp his foot upon this Senate Chamber floor, as of old a warrior and a senator did, and from that single stamp there will spring forth armed legions.

Shall one battle determine the fate of an empire? or the loss of one thousand men or tweny thousand, or $100,000,000 or $500,000,000? In a year's peace, in ten years at most, of peaceful progress we can restore them all. There will be some graves reeking with blood watered by the tears of affection. There will be some privation; there will be some loss of luxury; there will be somewhat more need for labor to procure the necessaries of life. When that is said, all is said. If we have the country, the whole country, the Union, the Constitu-

tion, free government—with these there will return all the blessings of well-ordered civilization; the path of the country will be a career of greatness and of glory such as, in the olden time, our fathers saw in the dim visions of years yet to come, and such as would have been ours to-day, if it had not been for the treason for which the senator too often seeks to apologize.

Why did Breckenridge's speech arouse sneers of incredulity?

Do you think that Breckenridge was sincere in his appeal to the future?

What was the political advantage that Breckenridge hoped to attain by remaining a member of the Federal Congress?

Who during recent war followed in the footsteps of Breckenridge and acted his part?

To what extent was Baker's dramatic entrance responsible for the effect of his speech?

Comment on Baker's transition from polite questioning to impassioned denunciation.

Comment on the argumentative and persuasive effect of Baker's failure to dispute his opponent's estimate of loss of men and property.

Compare the motives appealed to by Breckenridge with those to which Baker appealed.

Contrast the style of the two men. Is it the result of character and training?

What seems to be Baker's controlling purpose in delivering this speech?

## THE TRENT AFFAIR

December 4, 1861

When war was declared in America the sympathy of the ruling and influential classes of people in England was largely with the South. The aristocracy of Britain thought they saw in the fight the struggle of conservative and established government against the demagogic champions of democracy. In the House of Commons, Mr. Roebuck, a member for Sheffield, had brought forward a motion in favor of the recognition of the South. He said: "The men of the South are Englishmen; but the army of the North is composed of the scum of Europe." Even those who possessed democratic sentiments and who were opposed to slavery were slow to show their sympathy with the North, for it was maintained that the success of the Confederacy would promote England's economic welfare.

While public sentiment in Great Britain was in this condition an event occurred in November, 1861, that nearly led to war between England and the United States. The Confederate government sent two envoys from Havana to England and France in the British mail steamer *Trent*. The ship was stopped by the U. S. sloop of war *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, and the envoys were seized and imprisoned in a fort in Boston harbor. The affair raised a storm of indignation in England. Lord Russell, the Foreign Secretary, demanded from Secretary Seward the immediate release of the prisoners.

Under these circumstances, and while meetings advocating war were being held in many places in England, Bright delivered this address at Rochdale on December 4, 1861. He succeeded in stemming the tide of exasperation and in inducing the English nation to consider the affair calmly and sympathetically. As he predicted in his speech, the American government acknowledged the justice of the English claim and released the prisoners. But even then war was narrowly averted, for, Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, was inclined to follow up the matter. He was finally restrained through the influence of Queen Victoria and by the public sentiment aroused by Bright. England never recognized the Southern Confederacy; the most that the South ever obtained was the acknowledgement of its rights as a belligerent.

## THE TRENT AFFAIR

### John Bright

Eighty-five years ago, at the time when some of our oldest townsmen were very little children, there were, on the North American continent, colonies, mainly of Englishmen, containing about three millions of souls. These colonies we have seen a year ago constituting the United States of North America, and comprising a population of no less than thirty millions of souls. We know that in agriculture and manufactures, with the exception of this kingdom, there is no country in the world which in these arts may be placed in advance of the United States. With regard to inventions, I believe, within the last thirty years, we have received more useful inventions from the United States than from all

the other countries of the earth. In that country there are probably ten times as many miles of telegraph as there are in this country, and there are at least five or six times as many miles of railway. The tonnage of its shipping is at least equal to ours, if it does not exceed ours. The prisons of that country—for, even in countries the most favored, prisons are needful—have been models for other nations of the earth; and many European governments have sent missions at different times to inquire into the admirable system of education so universally adopted in their free schools throughout the Northern States.

This is a very fine, but a very true picture; yet it has another side to which I must advert. There has been one great feature in that country, one great contrast, which has been pointed to by all who have commented upon the United States as a feature of danger, as a contrast calculated to give pain. There has been in that country the utmost liberty to the white man, and bondage and degradation to the black man. Now rely upon it, that wherever Christianity lives and flourishes, there must grow up from it, necessarily, a conscience hostile to any oppression and to any wrong; and, therefore, from the hour when the United States Constitution was formed, so long as it left there this great evil—then comparatively small, but now so great—it left there seeds of that which an American statesman has so happily described of that "irrepressible conflict" of which now the whole world is the witness. It has been a common thing for men disposed to carp at the United States to point to this blot upon their fair fame, and to compare it with the boasted declaration of freedom in their Deed and Declaration of Independence.

I will not discuss the guilt of the men who, ministers of a great nation only last year, conspired to overthrow it.

I will not point out or recapitulate the statements of the fraudulent manner in which they disposed of the funds in the national exchequer. I will not point out by name any of the men, in this conspiracy, whom history will designate by titles they would not like to hear; but I say that slavery has sought to break up the most free government in the world, and to found a new State, in the nineteenth century, whose corner-stone is the perpetual bondage of millions of men.

It has been said, "How much better it would be"—not for the United States, but—"for us, that these States should be divided." I recollect meeting a gentleman in Bond Street one day before the session was over. He was a rich man and one whose voice is much heard in the House of Commons; but his voice is not heard when he is on his legs, but when he is cheering other speakers; and he said to me: "After all, this is a sad business about the United States; but I think it very much better that they should be split up. In twenty years"—or in fifty, I forget which it was—"they will be so powerful that they will bully all Europe." And a distinguished member of the House of Commons—distinguished there by his eloquence, distinguished more by his many writings—I mean Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—he did not exactly express a hope, but he ventured on something like a prediction, that the time would come when there would be, I do not know how many, but about as many independent States on the American continent as you can count upon your fingers.

There can not be a meaner motive than this I am speaking of, in forming a judgment on this question: that it is "better for us"—for whom? the people of England, or the government of England?—that the United States should be severed, and that the North American continent should be as the continent of Europe is in many States,

and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the states of Europe. I should say that, if a man had a great heart within him, he would rather look forward to the day, when, from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the Pole, to the shores of the Great Gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of States—without a great army, and without a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics—without a custom house inside, through the whole length and breadth of its territory—and with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere; such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past.

Now I am obliged to say—and I say it with the utmost pain—that if we have not done things that are plainly hostile to the North, and if we have not expressed affection for slavery, and, outwardly and openly, hatred for the Union—I say that there has not been that friendly and cordial neutrality, which, if I had been a citizen of the United States, I should have expected; and I say further, that, if there has existed considerable irritation at that, it must be taken as a measure of the high appreciation which the people of those States place upon the opinion of the people of England.

But there has occurred an event which was announced to us only a week ago, which is one of great importance, and it may be one of some peril. It is asserted that what is called "international law" has been broken by the seizure of the Southern commissioners on board an English trading steamer by a steamer of war of the United States.

Now, the act which has been committed by the American steamer, in my opinion, whether it was legal or not,

was both impolitic and bad. That is my opinion. I think it may turn out, almost certainly, that, so far as the taking of those men from that ship was concerned, it was an act wholly unknown to, and unauthorized by, the American government. And if the American government believe, on the opinion of their law officers, that the act is illegal, I have no doubt they will make fitting reparation; for there is no government in the world that has so strenuously insisted upon modifications of international law, and has been so anxious to be guided always by the most moderate and merciful interpretation of that law.

Now, our great advisers of the *Times* newspaper have been persuading people that this is merely one of a series of acts which denote the determination of the Washington government to pick a quarrel with the people of England. Did you ever know anybody who was not very nearly dead drunk, who, having as much upon his hands as he could manage, would offer to fight everybody about him? Do you believe that the United States government presided over by President Lincoln, so constitutional in all his acts, so moderate as he has been—representing at this moment that great party in the United States, happily now in the ascendancy, which has always been especially in favor of peace, and especially friendly to England—do you believe that such a government, having now upon its hands an insurrection of the most formidable character in the South, would invite the armies and the fleets of England to combine with that insurrection, and, it might be, to render it impossible that the Union should ever again be restored? I say, that single statement, whether it came from a public writer or a public speaker, is enough to stamp him forever with the character of being an insidious enemy of both countries.

What can be more monstrous than that we, as we call ourselves, to some extent, an educated, a moral, and a

Christian nation—at a moment when an accident of this kind occurs, before we have made a representation to the American government, before we have heard a word from it in reply—should be all up in arms,[1] every sword leaping from its scabbard, and every man looking about for his pistols and his blunderbusses? I think the conduct pursued—and I have no doubt just the same is pursued by a certain class in America—is much more the conduct of savages than of Christian and civilized men. No, let us be calm. You recollect how we were dragged into the Russian war—how we "dritted" into it. You know that I, at least, have not upon my head any of the guilt of that fearful war. You know that it cost one hundred millions of money to this country; that it cost at least the lives of forty thousand Englishmen; that it disturbed your trade; that it nearly doubled the armies of Europe; that it placed the relations of Europe on a much less peaceful footing than before; and that it did not effect one single thing of all those that it was promised to effect.

Now, then, before I sit down, let me ask you what is this people, about which so many men in England at this moment are writing, and speaking, and thinking, with harshness, I think with injustice, if not with great bitterness? Two centuries ago, multitudes of the people of this country found a refuge on the North American continent, escaping from the tyranny of the Stuarts and from the bigotry of Laud. Many noble spirits from our country made great experiments in favor of human freedom on that continent. Bancroft, the great historian of his own country, has said, in his own graphic and emphatic language, "The history of the colonization of America is the history of the crimes of Europe."

At this very moment, then, there are millions in the United States who personally, or whose immediate parents have at one time been citizens of this country. They have

found a home in the Far West; they subdued the wilderness; they met with plenty there, which was not afforded them in their native country; and they have become a great people. There may be persons in England who are jealous of those States. There may be men who dislike democracy, and who hate a republic; there may be even those whose sympathies warm toward the slave oligarchy of the South. But of this I am certain, that only misrepresentation the most gross, or calumny the most wicked can sever the tie which unites the great mass of the people of this country with their friends and brethren beyond the Atlantic.

Now, whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South achieve an unhonored independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know—that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty millions of freemen in the North will be thirty millions, or even fifty millions—a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said among them, that in the darkest hour of their country's trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw, unmoved, the perils and calamities of their children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent,[2] mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds, between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.

*How do you account for the fact that at the beginning of the Civil War the sympathy of most Englishmen was with the South?*

*What considerations, whether urged by Bright, Beecher, or*

others, caused England's sympathy gradually to swing over to the North?

Was Bright's estimate of America a just one?

What does the temper of Bright's speech imply concerning the character of the British public and his audience?

What reception did his speech receive in England?

Compare Bright's "if all other tongues were silent" with a similar emotional appeal made by Patrick Henry.

Discuss President Lincoln's attitude toward the Trent Affair.

How was the Affair finally adjusted?

## BEECHER'S SPEECH AT LIVERPOOL

October 16, 1863

Although Bright had been able to prevent England from entering the war in behalf of the Southern Confederacy he had not been able to do away with all antagonism toward the North. Sentiment in the manufacturing districts of England and generally among the working and business classes, was with the South when Beecher delivered his address in Liverpool on October 16, 1863. Lack of cotton and the closing of Southern markets to English goods had brought no little distress to the poorer people. It was Beecher's task to try to win over to the side of the North the moral support of those whose economic welfare seemed to depend on the success of the South.

When it was announced that he was to speak in Liverpool, the mob-spirit of the community was aroused and the opposition was organized to make a determined and desperate attempt to prevent the delivery of the speech. The streets were placarded with abusive and scurrilous posters urging Englishmen to "see that he gets the welcome that he deserves." The leading papers published editorial articles attacking Mr. Beecher. It was openly declared that if he attempted to address the meeting he would never leave Liverpool alive.

On the evening of the 16th the great hall was packed with enemies and with sympathizers. When Mr. Beecher came upon the platform there were cat-calls

and cheers for several minutes, and the chairman with great difficulty obtained the opportunity to introduce the speaker. The tumult continued for three hours excepting the few brief intervals when Mr. Beecher succeeded in obtaining the involuntary attention of his audience. Laughter, shouts, hisses, and insults continually interrupted the delivery of the address. On at least two occasions men were carried forcibly from the hall. Nevertheless, Mr. Beecher was able, in spite of all opposition, to create with his audience an impression that was of great benefit to the cause of the North; and the published report of his address, which the next day was spread all over England, became one of the important influences that led Great Britain to decide finally against lending her assistance to the Confederacy.

## SPEECH AT LIVERPOOL

### Henry Ward Beecher

For more than twenty-five years I have been made perfectly familiar with popular assemblies in all parts of my country except the extreme South. There has not for the whole of that time been a single day of my life when it would have been safe for me to go south of Mason and Dixon's line[1] in my own country, and all for one reason: my solemn, earnest, persistent testimony against that which I consider to be the most atrocious thing under the sun—the system of American slavery in a great free republic. [Cheers.] I have passed through that early period when right of free speech was denied to me. Again and again I have attempted to address audiences that, for no other crime than that of free speech, visited me with

all manner of contumelious epithets; and now since I have been in England, although I have met with greater kindness and courtesy on the part of most than I deserved, yet, on the other hand, I perceive that the Southern influence prevails to some extent in England. [Applause and uproar.] It is my old acquaintance; I understand it perfectly—[laughter]—and I have always held it to be an unfailing truth that where a man had a cause that would bear examination he was perfectly willing to have it spoken about. [Applause.] And when in Manchester I saw those huge placards: "Who is Henry Ward Beecher?"—[laughter, cries of "Quite right," and applause]—and when in Liverpool I was told that there were those blood-red placards, purporting to say what Henry Ward Beecher had said, and calling upon Englishmen to suppress free speech—I tell you what I thought. I thought simply this: "I am glad of it." [Laughter.] Why? Because if they had felt perfectly secure, that *you* are the minions of the South and the slaves of slavery, they would have been perfectly still. [Applause and uproar.] And, therefore, when I saw so much nervous apprehension that, if I were permitted to speak—[hisses and applause]—when I found they were afraid to have me speak—[hisses, laughter, and "No, no!"]—when I found that they considered my speaking damaging to their cause—[applause]—when I found that they appealed from facts and reasonings to mob law—[applause and uproar]—I said, no man need tell me what the heart and secret counsel of these men are. They tremble and are afraid. [Applause, laughter, hisses, "No, No!" and a voice: "New York mob."] Now, personally, it is a matter of very little consequence to me whether I speak here to-night or not. [Laughter and cheers.] But, one thing is very certain, if you do permit me to speak here to-night you will hear very plain talking. [Applause and

hisses.] You will not find a man—[interruption]—you will not find me to be a man that dared to speak about Great Britain three thousand miles off, and then is afraid to speak to Great Britain when he stands on her shores. [Immense applause and hisses.] And if I do not mistake the tone and temper of Englishmen, they had rather have a man who opposes them in a manly way—[applause from all parts of the hall]—than a sneak that agrees with them in an unmanly way. [Applause and "Bravo!"] Now, if I can carry you with me by sound convictions, I shall be immensely glad—[applause]—; but if I cannot carry you with me by facts and sound arguments, I do not wish you to go with me at all; and all that I ask is simply FAIR PLAY. [Applause, and a voice: "You shall have it, too."]

Those of you who are kind enough to wish to favor my speaking—and you will observe that my voice is slightly husky, from having spoken almost every night in succession for some time past,—those who wish to hear me will do me the kindness simply to sit still, and to keep still—and I and my friends the Secessionists will make all the noise. [Laughter.]

Wherever a nation that is crushed, cramped, degraded under despotism is struggling to be free, you—Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester, Paisley—all have an interest that that nation should be free. When depressed and backward people demand that they may have a chance to rise —Hungary, Italy, Poland—it is a duty for humanity's sake, it is a duty for the highest moral motives, to sympathize with them; but besides all these there is a material and an interested reason why you should sympathize with them. Pounds and pence join with conscience and with honor in this design. Now, Great Britain's chief want is —what?

They have said that your chief want is cotton. I deny

it. Your chief want is consumers. [Applause and hisses.] You have got skill, you have got capital, and you have got machinery enough to manufacture goods for the whole population of the globe. You could turn out fourfold as much as you do, if you only had the market to sell in. It is not so much the want, therefore, of fabric, though there may be a temporary obstruction of it; but the principal and increasing want—increasing from year to year—is, where shall we find men to buy what we can manufacture so fast? [Interruption, and a voice, "The Morrill tariff," [2] and applause.] Before the American war broke out, your warehouses were loaded with goods that you could not sell. [Applause and hisses.] You had over-manufactured; what is the meaning of over-manufacturing but this: that you had skill, capital, machinery, to create faster than you had customers to take goods off your hands? And you know that rich as Great Britain is, vast as are her manufactures, if she could have fourfold the present demand, she could make fourfold riches tomorrow; and every political economist will tell you that your want is not cotton primarily, but customers. Therefore, the doctrine, how to make customers, is a great deal more important to Great Britain than the doctrine how to raise cotton. It is to that doctrine I ask from you, business men, practical men, men of fact, sagacious Englishmen—to that point I ask a moment's attention. [Shouts of "Oh, oh!" hisses, and applause.] There are no more continents to be discovered. [Hear, hear!] The market of the future must be found—how? There is very little hope of any more demand being created by new fields. If you are to have a better market there must be some kind of process invented to make the old fields better. [A voice, "Tell us something new," shouts of "Order," and interruption.] Let us look at it, then. You must civilize the world in order to make a better

class of purchasers. [Interruption.] If you were to press Italy down again under the feet of despotism, Italy, discouraged, could draw but very few supplies from you. But give her liberty, kindle schools throughout her valleys, spur her industry, make treaties with her by which she can exchange her wine, and her oil, and her silk for your manufactured goods; and for every effort that you make in that direction there will come back profit to you by increased traffic with her. [Loud applause.] If Hungary asks to be an unshackled nation—if by freedom she will rise in virtue and intelligence, then by freedom she will acquire a more multifarious industry, which she will be willing to exchange for your manufactures. Her liberty is to be found—where? You will find it in the Word of God, you will find it in the code of history; but you will also find it in the Price Current [Hear, hear!]; and every free nation, every civilized people—every people that rises from barbarism to industry and intelligence, becomes a better customer. Now, there is in this a great and sound principle of political economy. ["Yah, yah!" from the passage outside the hall, and loud laughter.] If the South should be rendered independent—[at this juncture mingled cheering and hissing became immense; half the audience rose to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs, and in every part of the hall there was the greatest commotion and uproar.] Well, you have had your turn now; now let me have mine again. [Loud applause and laughter.] It is a little inconvenient to talk against the wind; but after all, if you will just keep good-natured—I am not going to lose my temper; will you watch yours? [Applause.] Besides all that, it rests me, and gives me a chance, you know, to get my breath. [Applause and hisses.] And I think that the bark of those men is worse than their bite. They do not mean any harm—they don't know any better. [Loud laughter, applause, hisses, and

continued uproar.] I was saying, when these responses broke in, that it was worth our while to consider both alternatives. What will be the result if this present struggle shall eventuate in the separation of America, and making the South—[loud applause, hisses, hooting, and cries of "Bravo!"]—a slave territory exclusively—[cries of "No, no!" and laughter]—and the North a free territory,—what will be the first result? You will lay the foundation for carrying the slave population clear through to the Pacific Ocean. This is the first step. There is not a man that has been a leader of the South any time within these twenty years that has not had this for a plan. It was for this that Texas was invaded, first by colonists, next by marauders, until it was wrested from Mexico. It was for this that they engaged in the Mexican War itself, by which the vast territory reaching to the Pacific was added to the Union. Never for a moment have they given up the plan of spreading the American institutions, as they call them, straight through toward the West, until the slave, who has washed his feet in the Atlantic, shall be carried to wash them in the Pacific. [Cries of "Question," and uproar.] There! I have got that statement out, and you cannot put it back. [Laughter and applause.] Now, let us consider the prospect. If the South becomes a slave empire, what relation will it have to you as a customer? [A voice: "Or any other man." Laughter.] It would be an empire of twelve millions of people. Now, of these, eight millions are white, and four millions black. [A voice: "How many have you got?" Applause and laughter. Another voice: "Free your own slaves!"] Consider that one-third of the whole are the miserably poor, unbuying blacks. [Cries of "No, no!" "Yes, yes!" and interruption.] You do not manufacture much for them. [Hisses, "Oh!" "No!"] You have not got machinery coarse enough.

[Laughter, and "No."] Your labor is too skilled by far to manufacture bagging and linsey-woolsey. [A Southerner: "We are going to free them, every one."] Then you and I agree exactly. [Laughter.] One other third consists of a poor, unskilled, degraded white population; and the remaining one-third, which is a large allowance, we will say, intelligent and rich.

Now here are twelve million of people, and only one-third of them are customers that can afford to buy the kind of goods that you bring to market. [Interruption and uproar.] My friends, I saw a man once, who was a little late at a railway station, chase an express train. He did not catch it. [Laughter.] If you are going to stop this meeting, you have got to stop it before I speak; for after I have got the things out, you may chase as long as you please—you would not catch them. [Laughter and interruption.] But there is luck in leisure; I am going to take it easy. [Laughter.] Two-thirds of the population of the Southern States to-day are non-purchasers of English goods. [A voice: "No, they are not"; "No, no!" and uproar.] Now you must recollect another fact—namely, that this is going on clear through to the Pacific Ocean; and if by sympathy or help you establish a slave empire, you sagacious Britons—["Oh, oh!" and hooting]—if you like it better, then, I will leave the adjective out—[laughter, Hear! and applause]—are busy in favoring the establishment of an empire from ocean to ocean that should have fewest customers and the largest non-buying population. [Applause, "No, no!" A voice: "I thought it was the happy people that populated fastest."]

Now, what can England make for the poor white population of such a future empire, and for her slave population? What carpets, what linens, what cottons can you sell them? What machines, what looking-glasses, what

combs, what leather, what books, what pictures, what engravings? [A voice: "We'll sell them ships."] You may sell ships to a few, but what ships can you sell to two-thirds of the population of poor whites and blacks? [Applause.] A little bagging and a little linsey-woolsey, a few whips and manacles, are all that you can sell for the slave. [Great applause and uproar.] This very day, in the slave States of America there are eight millions out of twelve millions that are not, and cannot be your customers from the very laws of trade. [A voice: "Then how are they clothed?" an interruption.]

There is another fact that I wish to allude to—not for the sake of reproach or blame, but by way of claiming your more lenient consideration—and that is, that slavery was entailed upon us by your action. [Hear, hear!] Against the earnest protests of the colonists the then government of Great Britain—I will concede not knowing what were the mischiefs—ignorantly, but in point of fact, forced slave traffic on the unwilling colonists. [Great uproar, in the midst of which one individual was lifted up and carried out of the room amid cheers and hisses.]

I do not ask that you should justify slavery in us, because it was wrong in you two hundred years ago; but having ignorantly been the means of fixing it upon us, now that we are struggling with mortal struggles to free ourselves from it, we have a right to your tolerance, your patience, and charitable constructions.

No man can unveil the future; no man can tell what revolutions are about to break upon the world; no man can tell what destiny belongs to France, nor to any of the European powers; but one thing is certain, that in the exigencies of the future there will be combinations and recombinations, and that those combinations that are of the same faith, the same blood, and the same substantial interests, ought not to be alienated from each other, but

ought to stand together. [Immense cheering and hisses.] I do not say that you ought not to be in the most friendly alliance with France or with Germany; but I do say that your own children, the offspring of England, ought to be nearer to you than any people of strange tongue. [A voice: "Degenerate sons," applause and hisses; another voice: "What about the *Trent?*"]. If there had been any feelings of bitterness in America, let me tell you that they had been excited, rightly or wrongly, under the impression that Great Britain was going to intervene between us and our own lawful struggle. [A voice: "No!" and applause.] With the evidence that there is no such intention all bitter feelings will pass away. [Applause.] We do not agree with the recent doctrine of neutrality [3] as a question of law. But it is past, and we are not disposed to raise that question. We accept it now as a fact, and we say that the utterance of Lord Russell [4] at Blairgowrie—[applause, hisses, and a voice: "What about Lord Brougham?"]—together with the declaration of the government in stopping war-steamers here—[great uproar, and applause]—has gone far toward quieting every fear and removing every apprehension from our minds. [Uproar and shouts of applause.] And now in the future it is the work of every good man and patriot not to create divisions, but to do the things that will make for peace. ["Oh, oh!" and laughter.] On our part it shall be done. [Applause and hisses, and "No, No!"] On your part it ought to be done; and when in any of the convulsions that come upon the world, Great Britain finds herself struggling single-handed against the gigantic powers that spread oppression and darkness—[Applause, hisses, and uproar]—there ought to be such cordiality that she can turn and say to her first-born and most illustrious child, "Come!" [Hear, hear! applause, tremendous cheers, and uproar.] I will not say that

England cannot again, as hitherto, single-handed manage any power—[applause and uproar]—but I will say that England and America together for religion and liberty—[A voice: "Soap, soap," uproar, and great applause]—are a match for the world. [Applause; a voice: "They don't want any more soft soap."] Now, gentlemen and ladies—[A voice: "Sam Slick," and another voice: "Ladies and gentlemen, if you please"]—when I came I was asked whether I would answer questions, and I very readily consented to do so, as I had in other places; but I will tell you it was because I expected to have the opportunity of speaking with some sort of ease and quiet. [A voice: "So you have."] I have for an hour and a half spoken against a storm [5]—[Hear, hear!]—and you yourselves are witnesses that, by the interruption, I have been obliged to strive with my voice,[6] so that I no longer have the power to control this assembly. [Applause.] And although I am in spirit perfectly willing to answer any question, and more than glad of the chance, yet I am by this very unnecessary opposition to-night incapacitated physically from doing it. Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you good-evening.

Why did the announcement that Mr. Beecher was to speak in Liverpool meet with intense opposition?

How can you account for the fact that an audience that had assembled presumably to hear Beecher speak seemed so unwilling to listen?

What means did Beecher take to gain the sympathy of his audience?

Was Beecher successful in gaining the attention of his Liverpool audience?

Do you think Beecher, in spite of the uproar against which he strove to speak, accomplished anything of value that night?

Do you think that Beecher delivered this speech approximately in the form that he outlined before he came to the hall?

Can you find an instance in his speech where Beecher changed

the conclusion of a sentence so as to turn the laugh on opponents who had interrupted him?

When Beecher said that England might say to her first-born child, "Come," do you suppose he had in mind such an emergency as the Great War?

What had Beecher hoped to accomplish in his English addresses, and to what extent was he successful?

## LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG

November 19, 1863

At Gettysburg, July 1, 2, and 3, General Meade and the Federal army brought to an end the long series of Northern defeats that had culminated in the alarming disasters at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Gettysburg was the turning point in the Civil War. Together with Grant's success at Vicksburg, it brought new hope to the defenders of the Union, although it was still evident that a long hard struggle remained.

The state of Pennsylvania soon after the battle gave to the Federal government seventeen and a half acres of land to be used as a national cemetery in which to bury the fifty thousand men who fell on the field. On November 19, 1863, the cemetery was formally dedicated. Edward Everett was the orator of the day; but President Lincoln was asked to make a few remarks in which he was formally to set apart the grounds to their use.

On the train that took President Lincoln to Gettysburg he wrote out with pencil the words that he planned to speak. At Gettysburg a grand procession accompanied by military music marched to the summit of the little hill overlooking the battlefield, where amid the trees a stand for the speakers had been erected. Edward Everett delivered an elaborate polished oration two hours long in which he reviewed the objects of the war and the battle and its consequences. The President then spoke the few simple words that the

world has since appraised as one of the greatest speeches ever delivered.

## SPEECH AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield [1] of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a

new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Show that this speech was peculiarly appropriate to the occasion of its delivery.

In what respect is the central thought of this speech like the central thought of Webster's *First Bunker Hill Oration?*

In what respect is the conception of democratic government as expressed in this speech like that expressed by Webster in his *Reply to Hayne?*

Is there anything in this speech that indicates that Lincoln was conscious that the nation was fighting to preserve democratic institutions and not merely the American Union?

What did Lincoln mean by "a new birth of freedom"?

Can you tell why this speech is considered one of the greatest ever delivered?

# LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 4, 1865

When Lincoln approached the beginning of his second term the long struggle was nearly concluded. If, however, the end had not been in sight, the Union government could hardly have continued the contest. Blood and treasure had been poured out until the North was almost exhausted. Although the rebellious forces of the South were nearly subdued, the future of the Union was dark.

The President's policies had, at last, gained the almost unanimous support of the North. One by one his enemies and traducers had been silenced; but Lincoln had no thought of exultation over his triumph. On the occasion of his second inauguration, with a devout and chastened spirit, he recognized the sincerity of the South, the righteousness of the cause of the North, and the authority of the Almighty to sit in judgment over both. His solemn words are often likened to the more lofty portions of the Old Testament. No greater speech was ever spoken. So contrite was his spirit, that many readers seem to find his words inspired with a prophetic realization of his impending doom.

# SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hopes for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war.

To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other.

It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged.

The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes.

"Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh."

If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn

with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Compare the length and scope of this speech with that of other presidential inaugural addresses.

Did Lincoln do well to use biblical diction in this state paper?

What was the emotional effect of Lincoln's showing in this speech that his work was merged with his religion?

Did the President in your opinion correctly state the cause of the war?

Did President Lincoln's address lose effectiveness in any degree because he failed to predict success for the Union armies?

What sentiments expressed by Lincoln in this speech finally convinced the Confederacy that the North had determined to prosecute the war vigorously to the end?

What attitude toward his enemies is shown by Lincoln in this speech?

How is the character of Lincoln reflected in his confidences, hopes, and aims?

To what sentiments and motives does Lincoln appeal?

Did Lincoln in this speech establish a precedent in the history of democratic government for toleration of opponents' views and respect for differing opinion, or can you point to similar sentiments expressed previously by some other orator?

## THE NEW SOUTH

December 21, 1886

The close of the war left the South impoverished and almost hopeless. Roads, bridges, and buildings were destroyed; and the land was desolated. The disbanded Confederate soldiers had to begin life over again without resources and often without health. Four million freedmen who owned no property were scattered throughout the country where few were able to employ them.

Improvement came very slowly. The former slaves lacked the training that would make them industrious. They were inclined to live in idleness. In bitter opposition to the will of the North, the Southern legislatures passed laws that tended to keep the negroes in a state of subjection and prevented the exercise of their newly gained rights. In retaliation Congress declined to receive the representatives and senators elected by the states that had seceded. Northern carpetbaggers and unprincipled adventurers attempted to gain political control in the South or deliver authority into the hands of the negroes. So slowly was progress made toward reconstruction and reconciliation that it was not until 1872 that Congress granted a fairly complete general amnesty to those who had fought for the Confederacy. Indeed not until many years later were the last remaining disabilities removed.

Chief among those who during this critical period were instrumental in producing a better understand-

ing between the North and the South was Henry W. Grady. At a dinner of the New England Society in New York on December 21, 1886, at a time when the country was ripe for the word, he delivered a speech which among the younger generation stimulated everywhere a resolve to end forever the prejudices and animosities that had survived the Civil War. This speech marks the climax of the reconciliation. The last echo of the strife was stilled in 1898 when the sons of the soldiers of the Blue and of the Gray fought together in the Spanish-American War.

## THE NEW SOUTH

### Henry W. Grady

"There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill,[1] at Tammany Hall,[2] in 1866, true then, and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

In speaking to the toast with which you have honored me I accept the term, "The New South," as in no sense disparaging to the old. Dear to me, sir, is the home of my childhood, and the traditions of my people. I would not, if I could, dim the glory they won in peace and war, or by word or deed take aught from the splendor and grace of their civilization, never equalled, and perhaps never to be equalled in its chivalric strength and grace. There is a new South, not through protest against the old, but because of new conditions, new adjustments, and, if you please, new ideas and aspirations.

Doctor Talmage[3] has drawn for you, with a master's

hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes! Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equalled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home? Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865.

Think of him as ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and faithful journey. What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful?

He finds his home in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, employment, material, or training, and, besides all this, confronted with

the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

What does he do—this hero in gray, with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely, God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired to him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldiers stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow; and the fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June. From the ashes left us in 1864 [4] we have raised a brave and beautiful city. Somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core; a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace, and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of a growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanding horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because in the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion, revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back." In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hills—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men, that of a brave and simple man who died in a brave and simple faith. Not for all the glories of New England—from Plymouth Rock all the way—would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the feet of that shaft I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory, which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His Almighty Hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil—the American Union saved from the wreck of war.

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of the soil about the city in which I live is sacred as a battle-ground of the Republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and double hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted, in defeat—sacred soil to all of us, rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better, silent but stanch witnesses in its red desolation of the matchless valor of American hearts and the death-

less glory of American arms—speaking an eloquent witness, in its white peace and prosperity, to the indissoluble union of American people.

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts which never felt the generous ardor of conflict it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered above the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and delusion? If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this message of good-will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very society forty years ago amid tremendous applause, become true, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and forever."

Can you tell why the Civil War was more destructive to the South than to the North?

Was Grady wise in praising the Old South at the beginning of his speech?

When the South entered upon the Civil War was it actuated by selfish ambition, or did it believe in the justice and righteousness of its cause?

In what respects did the New South differ from the Old?

When the war was over was it the best policy for the North

to attempt to placate and conciliate the South or to hold it in subjection?

Do you think that Grady's reference to Dr. Talmage's speech is an instance of skillful transition and connection, or do you think that after Grady took his place at the table he originated the eloquent description of the Confederate soldier's return?

Would Grady have done better not to refer to his father's record in the war?

Enumerate the instances in this speech where Grady shows that there is a common sentiment in which the North and the South can unite.

Grady speaks of what new democracy?

In what sense does this speech mark a period in American history?

## THE STRENUOUS LIFE

April 10, 1899

THE Civil War determined the relation of the Federal government to the states, but it took another war to settle its relation to the other nations of the world. Washington had advised against entangling alliances with foreign powers and President Monroe, in his famous message of 1823, in an attempt to promote the peace and safety of the United States and to render more remote the possibility of clashes with European nations, declared that henceforth the American continents were not to be colonized by foreign powers. In a word, the United States in the Monroe Doctrine announced that it denied to European powers any action that endangered the sovereignty of any American nation.

In the course of time, however, irresponsible South American governments discovered that after failing to discharge their obligations to foreign nations they might escape punishment by hiding behind the Monroe Doctrine. Gradually, therefore, for the sake of justice, the United States found it necessary to exercise a certain degree of control over the countries it protected. Instead of assuring the United States peaceful isolation, the Monroe Doctrine seemed to promise to keep the country perpetually involved in South American affairs and to bring it from time to time into grave danger of war with Europe.

The crisis came in connection with the Cuban war for independence in the last years of the century. Con-

ditions in Cuba had become intolerable. Business had been ruined; thousands of men, women, and children had been shot or starved; and there was no prospect that Spain could maintain her sovereignty. Warnings given by President Cleveland and President McKinley had been unheeded. On April 19, 1898, Congress finally passed a resolution declaring Cuba free. War with Spain followed soon after.

The first notable battle was fought May 1, 1898, by Commodore Dewey in Manila Bay where he totally destroyed the enemy's fleet. The most important land battle was fought near Santiago, Cuba, where Colonel Roosevelt led a brilliant and successful assault on San Juan Hill. Before the peace protocol was signed on August 13, the United States had won the Philippines, Cuba, and other islands.

To win the Philippines proved to be easier than to know what to do with them. Cuba, under the protection of the United States, seemed able to rule itself and was given its independence; but the Philippine islands were inhabited largely by half-civilized races utterly unfit to govern themselves. Were they to be handed back to the misrule of Spain, or to be abandoned to anarchy or the exploitation of some grasping power? Great difference of opinion existed among American statesmen and many were the plans proposed, but gradually it became clear that the time had come when the United States should cast aside that outworn view of the Monroe Doctrine, that sought for America isolation and separation from the rest of the world, and should adopt a new, expanded, and generous interpretation, that would place the country among world powers and would recognize an obligation and duty to promote liberty and democracy wherever possible throughout the globe.

More than any other man, Theodore Roosevelt was influential in upholding this ideal. He maintained that it was a relic of primitive civilization for a nation to avoid physical, mental, and moral exchange with its neighbors, that only by shirking its duty could it neglect to take part in solving world problems, and only through blind stupidity could it fail to provide itself with the army and navy necessary to protect its liberty and the liberty of others. He set forth these views in many addresses. The most notable, however, was given at the Hamilton Club, in Chicago, on April 10, 1899. It is called *The Strenuous Life*. Its vision is so far in advance of the views of most American statesmen of his time that it seems like a prophecy of the liberal American spirit that in the world crisis of 1917 was to rise supreme over ignoble timidity and all selfish considerations.

## THE STRENUOUS LIFE

### Theodore Roosevelt

In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the state which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who pre-eminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs

merely from lack of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself, and from his sons, shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace, is to be the first consideration in their eyes, to be the ultimate goal after which they strive? You men of Chicago have made this city great, you men of Illinois have done your share, and more than your share in making America great, because you neither preach nor practice such a doctrine. You work yourselves and you bring up your sons to work.

We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor; who is prompt to help a friend; but who has the virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail; but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing save by effort.

As it is with the individual so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things and war and strife the worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides, saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heart-break of

many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering, simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it, we would have shown that we were weaklings and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days—let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected, that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced, and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among the nations.

If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. In 1898 we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest, or enter it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make of our dealings with these new problems a dark and

shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution, there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright; but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright. The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty life that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual; or else they are wedded to that base spirit of gain and greed which recognizes in commercialism the be-all and end-all of national life, instead of realizing that, though an indispensable element, it is, after all, but one of the many elements that go to make up true national greatness. No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and enterprise, from hard, unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity; but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity, to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our railroads, to the

strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand; for great is the debt of the nation to these and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves and those dependent upon them; but they recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties—duties to the nation and duties to the race.

We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and the West.

So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediaeval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work; and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to

carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake.

The work must be done. We cannot escape our responsibility, and if we are worth our salt, we shall be glad of the chance to do the work—glad of the chance to show ourselves equal to one of the great tasks set modern civilization. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the importance of the task. Let us not be misled by vain glory into underestimating the strain it will put on our powers. Above all, let us, as we value our own self-respect, face the responsibilities with proper seriousness, courage, and high resolve. We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are to grapple with these new problems. We must hold to a rigid accountability those public servants who show unfaithfulness to the interests of the nation or inability to rise to the high level of the new demands upon our strength and our resources.

Our army needs complete reorganization [1]—not merely enlarging—and the reorganization can only come as the result of legislation. A proper general staff should be established, and the positions of ordnance, commissary, and quartermaster officers should be filled by detail from the line. Above all, the army must be given a chance to exercise in large bodies. Never again should we see, as we saw in the Spanish War, major-generals in command of divisions who had never commanded three companies together in the field. Yet, incredible to relate, the recent Congress has shown a queer inability to learn some of the lessons of the war. There were large bodies of men in both branches who opposed the declaration of war, who opposed the ratification of peace, who opposed the upbuilding of the army, and who even opposed the purchase of armor at a reasonable price for the battleships and cruisers, thereby putting an absolute stop to the building

of any new fighting ships for the navy. If during the years to come any disaster should befall our arms, afloat or ashore, and thereby any shame come to the United States, remember that the blame will lie upon the men whose names appear upon the roll-calls of Congress on the wrong side of these great questions. On them will lie the burden of any loss of our soldiers and sailors, of any dishonor to the flag; and upon you and the people of the country will lie the blame, if you do not repudiate, in no unmistakable way, what these men have done. The blame will not rest upon the untrained commander of untried troops; upon the civil officers of a department, the organization of which has been left utterly inadequate; or upon the admiral with insufficient number of ships; but upon the public men who have so lamentably failed in the forethought as to refuse to remedy these evils long in advance, and upon the nation that stands behind those public men.

The army and navy are the sword and the shield which this nation must carry if she is to do her duty among the nations of the earth—if she is not to stand merely as the China of the Western Hemisphere. Our proper conduct toward the tropic islands we have wrested from Spain is merely the form which our duty has taken at the moment. Of course, we are bound to handle the affairs of our own household well. We must see that there is civic honesty, civic cleanliness, civic good sense in our home administration of city, state, and nation. We must strive for honesty in office, for honesty towards the creditors of the nation and of the individual; for the widest freedom of individual initiative where possible and for the wisest control of individual initiative where it is hostile to the welfare of the many. But because we set our own household in order, we are not thereby excused from playing our part in the great affairs of the world. A man's

first duty is to his own home, but he is not thereby excused from doing his duty to the state; for if he fails in this second duty it is under the penalty of ceasing to be a freeman. In the same way, while a nation's first duty is within its own borders, it is not thereby absolved from facing its duties in the world as a whole, and if it refuses to do so, it merely forfeits its rights to struggle for a place among the peoples that shape the destiny of mankind.

I have scant patience with those who fear to undertake the task of governing the Philippines, and who openly avow that they do fear to undertake it, or that they shrink from it because of the expense and trouble; but I have even scanter patience with those who make a pretense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who cant about "liberty" and "the consent of the governed," in order to excuse themselves for the unwillingness to play the part of men. Their doctrines, if carried out, would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.

When once we have put down armed resistance, when once our rule is acknowledged, then an even more difficult task will begin, for then we must see to it that the islands are administered with absolute honesty and with good judgment. If we let the public service of the islands be turned into the prey of the spoils politician we shall have begun to tread the path which Spain trod to her own destruction. We must send out there only good and able men, chosen for their fitness, and not because of their partisan service; and these men must not only administer impartial justice to the natives and serve their own government with honesty and fidelity, but they must also show the utmost tact and firmness, remembering that

with such people as those with whom we are to deal weakness is the greatest of crimes, and that next to weakness comes lack of consideration for their principles and prejudices.

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease, and ignoble peace,[2] if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and the stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world.[3] Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and grave to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided that we are certain that the strife is justified; for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.

Is "happy is the nation that has no history" true from the point of view of modern historical method?

Compare the great issues of which Roosevelt spoke in 1899 with those that confronted Wilson in 1916.

What do you think of Roosevelt's practical politics as reflected in his reference to the roll-calls of Congress?

In what respects is peace for man or nation not an end in itself?

Nietzsche said "live dangerously." Looking at the matter from a broad point of view, which do you think is the better habit, peace or strife?

In what respects did Roosevelt by means of this speech attempt to alter the military policy of the United States?

Did Roosevelt recommend this change in military policy

through nervousness, a belligerent disposition, an intimate knowledge of public affairs, or vision?

Does this speech in your opinion preserve a proper balance between physical power and moral duty?

How did the Spanish War affect the foreign policy of the United States?

Was the new policy more democratic or less democratic than the old?

In what senses did the United States at the end of Spanish War become a world power?

Was Washington's advice against entangling alliances bad, was it outworn, or had it been misinterpreted?

Is Roosevelt truly democratic when he denies the right of self-government to Apaches and savage Philippinos?

Does Roosevelt in this speech recognize, in the words of Lincoln, "a new birth of freedom"?

Is Roosevelt in this speech urging America to work for selfish ends, or is he advocating national altruism?

# THE CALL TO ARMS

September 5, 1914

THE twenty-eighth of June, 1914, will probably be taken by historians as the beginning of the Great War. As a matter of fact the war was the inevitable outgrowth of a very insidious development that can be traced as far back as the downfall of Napoleon and the resulting diplomatic agreements of the Congress of Vienna.

As a consequence of secret conventions made at this conference, liberty and democracy found thereafter their haven in the freedom-loving lands of England and France, while autocracy and absolutism were nourished in Germany, Austria, and Russia. France developed a republican form of government and her people like the people of England decided for themselves how they were to be ruled. In Germany, on the other hand, a Prussian military clique, under the leadership of the Kaiser, seized the reins of state and drove the people into a highly organized system of autocratic control.

The constitution of Germany, in contrast with that of the United States, was made by hereditary rulers and never was approved by vote of the people. Not even the Kaiser was accountable directly to his subjects, for he maintained that he ruled by Divine Right. The chief legislative body of the Empire was the Bundesrath, the members of which were appointed by the rulers of the various German states. As the Kaiser had twenty votes in this council of sixty-one

members, he was able both to control legislation and, with the use of but fourteen of his votes, to block changes in the constitution. The Reichstag, the popular assembly, was given very little political power and was utterly unable to secure for Germany democratic government. Constitutional or other radical reform could come only through revolution.

When in 1871 at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, the German army in eight months overran France and secured an indemnity of $1,000,000,000, and the two invaluable provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, the German rulers became war-mad and lost their desire to win greatness slowly through the arts of peace. They planned to found a great empire by means of the sword. Year after year they drilled, increased, and perfected their army until it became the most formidable in Europe. In 1900 they began to construct a powerful navy. So the power of the military authorities grew until it might be said that Germany was not a country that possessed an army; it was an army that possessed a country.

In a shameless way, moreover, the German people furthered the plan of their rulers for conquest and dominion. They submitted blindly to arbitrary authority. They planned to build in time a railway which was to extend from Berlin to Bagdad and was to be the artery of a greater German Empire that would in time add to Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and Persia, and India.

In 1914 the Kiel naval canal connecting the North Sea and the Baltic was completed. The Great Army bill of 1913 had brought the army to an unprecedented size, and it had been drilled until it was fit. All was ready. But little Servia was in the way. The Bagdad railway passed through her territories and she placed

a hostile barrier between Germany and her allies on the east.

On June 28, 1914, a son of the Emperor of Austria was murdered by a Serb in Sarajevo. Austria seemed to be convinced that Servia had planned the assassination because of her objection to Austria's control of Bosnia and other Serb provinces. On July 23, 1914, Austria sent Servia an insulting ultimatum. Servia, however, granted all that was asked excepting permission for Austrian officials to sit in Servian courts. Austria, nevertheless, refused to accept this answer and on July 28, 1914, declared war on Servia. On August 1, Germany, which had already begun gathering her troops, declared war on Russia, giving as her reason the statement that the latter nation was beginning to mobilize.

War with France was the inevitable outcome. German military leaders knew that the theater of war would be west of the Rhine and prepared to carry out their plans for attacking France through Belgium, the neutrality of which had been guaranteed by the treaties of 1839 and 1870, in which France, Prussia, and Great Britain were parties. When Germany in spite of all pledges crossed the border and violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain declared war on Germany, and on August 1 with her army of 150,000 began to help preserve the sovereignty of the little country. The heroic and unexpected resistance on the part of the Belgians delayed the Germans in their march to Paris, and it was August 24 before the frontiers of France were sighted. In September came the great battle of the Marne in which the French under Marshal Joffre disastrously drove back the Germans and saved the world for democracy. Defeated in their initial surprise attack, Ger-

many resorted to trench warfare and defensive tactics.

Germany's invasion of Belgium aroused every man and woman in England. On August 28, 1914, Premier Asquith addressed a note to the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, in which he advocated the holding of public meetings to make plain the justice of England's cause. The response was most enthusiastic. The offer of Mr. Asquith to assist this movement by addressing such meetings was accepted by the heads of the four cities, and in September the Prime Minister delivered four memorable addresses summoning Great Britain to arms. Thousands of people were turned away from the great Guildhall in the city of London on the evening of September 5, 1914, when the address known as *The Call to Arms* was delivered. Through the throng that heard him, he spoke to the people not only of England but of the whole British Empire, calling them to rise as one to save Europe by their example. The patriotic ardor with which the address was received was truly prophetic of the zeal and unanimity of the military response.

## THE CALL TO ARMS

### H. H. Asquith

My Lord Mayor and Citizens of London: It is three and a half years since I last had the honor of addressing in this hall a gathering of the citizens. We were then met under the presidency of one of your predecessors, men of all creeds and parties, to celebrate and approve the joint declaration of the two great English-speaking states

that for the future any differences between them should be settled, if not by agreement, at least by judicial inquiry and arbitration, and never in any circumstances by war, [Cheers.] Those of us who hailed that great Eirenicon [1] between the United States and ourselves as a landmark on the road of progress were not sanguine enough to think, or even to hope, the era of war was drawing to a close. But still less were we prepared to anticipate the terrible spectacle which now confronts us of a contest which for the number and importance of the powers engaged, the scale of their armaments and armies, the width of the theatre of conflict, the outpouring of blood and the loss of life, the incalculable toll of suffering levied upon non-combatants, the material and moral loss accumulating day by day to the higher interests of civilized mankind—a contest which in every one of these aspects is without precedent in the annals of the world. [Hear, hear!] We were very confident three years ago in the rightness of our position, when we welcomed the new securities for peace. We are equally confident in it to-day, when reluctantly, and against our will, but with a clear judgment and a clean conscience, [cheers] we find ourselves involved with the whole strength of this empire in a bloody arbitration between might and right. The issue has passed out of the domain of argument into another field, but let me ask you, and through you the world outside, what would have been our condition as a nation to-day if we had been base enough through timidity or through perverted calculation of self-interest, or through a paralysis of the sense of honor and duty, [cheers] if we had been base enough to be false to our word and faithless to our friends?

Our eyes would have been turned at this moment with those of the whole civilized world to Belgium, a small state, which has lived for more than seventy years under

the several and collective guarantees to which we in common with Prussia and Austria were parties, and we should have seen at the instance and by the action of two of these guaranteeing powers her neutrality violated, her independence strangled, her territory made use of as affording the easiest and the most convenient road to a war of unprovoked aggression against France. We, the British people, would at this moment have been standing by with folded arms and with such countenance as we could command while this small and unprotected State, in defense of her vital liberties, made a heroic stand against overweening and overwhelming force; we should have been admiring as detached spectators the siege of Liege, the steady and manful resistance of a small army to the occupation of their capital, with its splendid traditions and memories, the gradual forcing back of the patriotic defenders of their native land to the ramparts of Antwerp, countless outrages inflicted by buccaneering levies exacted from the unoffending civil population, and, finally, the greatest crime committed against civilization and culture since the Thirty Years' War, the sack of Louvain,[2] [Cries of Shame!] with its buildings, its pictures, its unique library, its unrivaled associations—a shameless holocaust of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance. [Prolonged cheers.] What account should we, the Government and the people of this country, have been able to render to the tribunal of our national conscience and sense of honor if, in defiance of our plighted and solemn obligations, we had endured, nay, if we had not done our best to prevent, yes, and to avenge, these intolerable outrages? For my part I say that sooner than be a silent witness—which means in effect a willing accomplice—of this tragic triumph of force over law and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the pages of history. [Prolonged cheers.]

That is only a phase—a lurid and illuminating phase in the contest in which we have been called by the mandate of duty and of honor to bear our part. The cynical violation of the neutrality of Belgium was, after all, but a step—the first step—in a deliberate policy of which, if not the immediate, the ultimate, and the not far distant aim, was to crush the independence and autonomy of the free states of Europe. First Belgium, then Holland, then Switzerland, countries like our own, imbued and sustained with the spirit of liberty, were one after another to be bent to the yoke, and these ambitions were fed and fostered by a body of new doctrines and new philosophies preached by professors and learned men. The free and full self-development which to these small states, to ourselves, to our great and growing dominions over the seas, to our kinsmen across the Atlantic, is the well-spring and life-breath of national existence—that free self-development is the one capital offense in the code of those who have made force their supreme divinity, and who upon its altars are prepared to sacrifice both the gathered fruits and the potential germs of the unfettered human spirit. I use this language advisedly. This is not merely a material; it is also a spiritual conflict. [Cheers.] Upon its issues, everything that contains promise and hope, that leads to emancipation and a fuller liberty for the millions who make up the mass of mankind, will be found sooner or later to depend.

Let me now just for a moment turn to the actual situation in Europe. How do we stand? For the last ten years, by what I believe to be happy and well-considered diplomatic arrangements, we have established friendly and increasingly intimate relations with the two powers, France and Russia, with whom, in days gone by, we have had in various parts of the world occasion for constant friction, and now and again for possible conflict. Those new and

better relations, based in the first instance upon business principles of give and take, matured into a settled temper of confidence and good-will. They were never in any sense or at any time, as I have frequently said in this hall, directed against other powers. No man in the history of the world has ever labored more strenuously or more successfully than my right honorable friend Sir Edward Grey [3] [cheers] for that which is the supreme interest of the modern world, a general and abiding peace. It is, I venture to think, a very superficial criticism which suggests that under his guidance the policy of this country has ignored, still less that it has counteracted and hampered, the concert of Europe. It is little more than a year ago that under his presidency, in the stress and strain of the Balkan crisis, the ambassadors of all the great powers met here day after day curtailing the area of possible differences, reconciling warring ambitions and aims, and preserving against almost incalculable odds the general harmony. And it was in the same spirit and with the same purpose, when a few weeks ago Austria delivered her ultimatum to Servia, that our foreign secretary put forward the proposal for a mediating conference between the four powers who were not directly concerned—Germany, France, Italy, and ourselves. If that proposal had been accepted, actual controversy would have been settled with honor to everybody, the whole of this terrible welter would have been avoided. [Hear, hear!]

And with whom does the responsibility rest [cries of The Kaiser!] for this refusal and for all the illimitable suffering which now confronts the world? One power and one power only, and that power—Germany. [Loud hisses.] That is the front and origin of this world-wide catastrophe. We are persevering to the end. No one who has not been confronted as we were with the responsibility of determining the issues of peace and war can

realize the strength and energy and persistency with which we have labored for peace. We persevered by every expedient that diplomacy could suggest, straining almost to the breaking point our most cherished friendships and obligations, even to the last, making effort upon effort, and hoping against hope. Then, and only then, when we were at last compelled to realize that the choice lay between honor and dishonor, between treachery and good faith, when at last we reached the dividing line which makes or mars a nation worthy of the name, it was then, and then only, that we declared for war. Is there any one in this hall or in this United Kingdom or in the vast empire of which we here stand in the capital and centre who blames or repents our decision? [Cries of No!] For these reasons, as I believe, we must steel ourselves to the task, and in the spirit which animated our forefathers in their struggle against the domination of Napoleon we must and we shall persevere to the end. [Cheers.]

It would be a criminal mistake to underestimate either the magnitude, the fighting quality, or the staying power of the forces which are arrayed against us. But it would be equally foolish and equally indefensible to belittle our own resources, whether for resistance or attack. Belgium has shown us by a memorable and a glorious example what can be done by a relatively small State when its citizens are animated and fired by the spirit of patriotism. In France and Russia we have as allies two of the greatest powers of the world engaged with us in a common cause, who do not mean to separate [4] themselves from us any more than we mean to separate ourselves from them. We have upon the seas the strongest and most magnificent fleet that has ever been seen. The expeditionary force which left our shores less than a month ago has never been surpassed, as its glorious achievements in the field have already made clear, not only in material and equip-

ment but in the physical and the moral quality of its constituents. [Cheers.]

As regards the navy, I am sure my right honorable friend (Mr. Winston Churchill) will tell you there is happily little more to be done. I do not flatter it when I say that its superiority is equally marked in every department and sphere of its activity. [Cheers.] We rely on it with the most absolute confidence, not only to guard our shores against the possibility of invasion, not only to seal up the gigantic battleships of the enemy in the inglorious seclusion of his own ports, whence from time to time, he furtively steals forth to sow the seeds of murderous snares, which are more full of menace to neutral ships than to the British fleet. Our navy does all this, and while it is thirsting, I do not doubt, for that trial of strength in a fair and open fight, which is so far prudently denied it, it does a great deal more. It has hunted the German mercantile marine from the high seas. It has kept open our own sources of food supply and has largely curtailed those of the enemy, and when the few German cruisers which still infest the more distant ocean routes have been disposed of, as they will be disposed of very soon, [cheers] it will achieve for British and neutral commerce passing backward and forward, from and to every part of our empire, a security as complete as it has ever enjoyed in the days of unbroken peace. Let us honor the memory of the gallant seamen who, in the pursuit of one or another of these varied and responsible duties, have already laid down their lives for their country.

In regard to the army there is a call for a new, a continuous, a determined, and a united effort. For, as the war goes on, we shall have not merely to replace the wastage caused by casualties, not merely to maintain our military power at its original level, but we must, if we are to play a worthy part, enlarge its scale, increase its

numbers and multiply many times its effectiveness as a fighting instrument. The object of the appeal which I have made to you, my Lord Mayor, and to the other chief magistrates of our capital cities is to impress upon the people of the United Kingdom the imperious urgency of this supreme duty. Our self-governing dominions throughout the empire, without any solicitation on our part, have demonstrated with a spontaneousness and a unanimity unparalleled in history their determination to affirm their brotherhood with us and to make our cause their own. From Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand, from South Africa, and from Newfoundland, the children of the empire[5] assert, not as an obligation, but as a privilege, their right and their willingness to contribute money and material, and what is better than all, the strength and sinews, the fortunes, and the lives of their best manhood. [Cheers.] India, too, with no less alacrity, has claimed her share in the common task. Every class and creed, British and natives, Princes and people, Hindus and Mohammedans, vie with one another in noble and emulous rivalry. Two divisions of our magnificent Indian Army are already on their way. [Cheers.] We welcome with appreciation and affection their proffered aid. In an empire which knows no distinction of race or cause we all alike as subjects of the King-Emperor are joint and equal custodians of our common interests and fortunes. We are here to hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association, side by side and shoulder to shoulder, with our home and dominion troops, under the flag which is the symbol to all of a unity that a world in arms cannot dissever or dissolve. With these inspiring appeals and examples from our fellow-subjects all over the world, what are we doing and what ought we to do here at home?

Mobilization was ordered[6] on the 4th of August; imme-

diately afterward Lord Kitchener issued his call for 100,000 recruits for the regular army, which has been followed by a second call for another 100,000. The response up to to-day gives us between 250,000 and 300,000. I am glad to say that London has done its share. The total number of Londoners accepted is not less than 42,000. [Cheers.] I need hardly say that that appeal involves no disparagement or discouragement of the territorial force. The number of units in that force who have volunteered for foreign service is most satisfactory and grows every day. We look to them with confidence to increase their numbers, to perfect their organization and training, and to play efficiently the part which has always been assigned to them, both offensive and defensive, in the military system of the empire. But to go back to the expansion of the regular army. We want more men—men of the best fighting quality, and if for a moment the number who offer themselves and are accepted should prove to be in excess of those who can at once be adequately trained and equipped, do not let them doubt that prompt provision will be made for the incorporation of all willing and able men in the fighting forces of the kingdom. We want, first of all, men, and we shall endeavor to secure them. Men desiring to serve together shall, wherever possible, be allotted to the same regiment or corps. The raising of battalions by counties or municipalities with this object will be in every way encouraged. But we want not less urgently a larger supply of ex-non-commissioned officers, and the pick of the men with whom in the past days they served, men, therefore, whom in most cases we shall be asking to give up regular employment and to return to the work of the State, which they alone are competent to do. The appeal we make is addressed quite as much to their employers as to the men themselves. The men ought to be absolutely assured of reinstatement [7] in their

business at the end of the war. Finally, there are numbers of commissioned officers now in retirement who are much experienced in the handling of troops and have served their country in the past. Let them come forward, too, and show their willingness, if need be, to train bodies of men for whom at the moment no cadre or unit can be found.

I have little more to say. Of the actual progress of the war I will not say anything, except that in my judgment in whatever direction we look there is abundant ground for pride and for confidence. I say nothing more, because I think we should all bear in mind that we are at present watching the fluctuations of fortune only in the early stages of what is going to be a protracted struggle. We must learn to take long views, and to cultivate, above all, other faculties—those of patience, endurance, and steadfastness. Meanwhile, let us go, each of us, to his or her appropriate place in the great common task. Never had a people more or richer sources of encouragement and inspiration. Let us realize, first of all, that we are fighting as a united empire, in a cause worthy of the highest traditions of our race. Let us keep in mind the patient and indomitable seamen, who never relax for a moment, night or day, their stern vigil of the lonely sea. Let us keep in mind our gallant troops, who to-day, after a fortnight's continuous fighting under conditions which would try the metal of the best army that ever took the field, maintain not only an undefeated but an unbroken front. [Cheers.] Finally, let us recall the memories of the great men and the great deeds of the past, commemorated, some of them, in the monuments which we see around us on these walls, not forgetting the dying message of the younger Pitt, his last public utterance, made at the table of one of your predecessors, my Lord Mayor, in this very hall: "England has saved herself by her exertions, and

will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." The England of those days gave a noble answer to his appeal, and did not sheath the sword until, after nearly twenty years of fighting, the freedom of Europe was secured. Let us go and do likewise. [Prolonged cheers.]

What influence had Asquith's *The Call to Arms* on the growth of American political ideals?

From what points of view was the Great War an attack on democracy?

Point out practices in the government of Germany in 1914 that were repudiated by the English previous even to American independence.

Had it been customary in England for the prime minister to appeal directly to the people?

What purpose was served by Asquith's reference in the first paragraph of his speech to the peace treaty with America?

Compare Asquith's statement of Germany's aims with the accounts given by Lloyd-George and President Wilson.

Comment briefly on Britain's attempts to avoid the war.

What, according to Asquith, was the predominating motive that led England to engage in the war?

Contrast the style of Asquith's speech with that of Patrick Henry's. Does the difference indicate corresponding degrees of sincerity and determination?

If you were to judge by the applause recorded in this speech, what motives or emotions chiefly animated the audience?

What was the effect of the war on the solidarity of the British Empire?

How does this speech point to a democracy broader than any that had yet existed?

# PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

April 2, 1917

When the Germans invaded Belgium, Americans were appalled by the ruthless violation of treaties and of the principles of humanity and international law. The suddenness of the attack and the effects of unsuspected German propaganda, however, clouded the issues and made it seem uncertain what course of action ought to be followed. It seemed best to remain neutral. Accordingly early in August, 1914, President Wilson appealed to the American people in these words, "Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned." It is true that at this time there were Americans who fully appreciated the sublime heroism with which Belgium was holding back the foes of civilization, but the nation as a whole was not then ready for war.

For years America had devoted herself to thoughts of peace. The military establishment of Germany had been looked upon with amusement, for it was a common American view that the last war in the history of the world had been fought. Very little was known about European politics and false statements made by German agents were easily believed. One-third of the population of the United States was foreign born and naturally as regards European affairs divided in their sympathies. In addition to the hundreds of thousands

of German-Americans who were hostile to the Allies, there were numerous other persons who for one reason or another were unfriendly to England or France or Russia. Even some of those citizens who thought it our moral and political duty to take the side of Belgium advised in 1914 that America continue for a longer period its policy of neutrality since the American army was so poorly equipped and was so pitifully small.

The situation, however, gradually changed. When through diplomatic means Germany had failed to prevent American firms from selling munitions to her enemies, she endeavored through paid agents and spies to initiate a campaign of violence in the United States by inciting strikes, encouraging sabotage, and dynamiting buildings. Although such actions on Germany's part naturally cost her many supporters, the feeling against her did not become intensely bitter until February, 1915, when in utter lack of regard for international law, Germany announced that she was about to use submarines to destroy, instead of capture, enemy merchant vessels on sight and to prevent neutrals from trading with England and France.

Even this contempt for American rights, nevertheless, did not stir Americans so deeply as the growing conviction that England and France were fighting a battle for civilization. The cockneys of London, many of them miserable little men, had left their cabs and high stools in the offices, had sent their poorly nourished wives and children to the munition factories and the farms, and had gone to Ypres and the Somme and there had laid down their lives by thousands in support of the principles from which had grown the sweetness and light of American life. At Verdun the German hordes determined that France should be bled

white and Prussians would hew a way to the west. With poison gas and bayonet, with shell and machine-gun, they cut down division after division of French soldiers. The poilus blocked the roads with their bodies and the Germans did not pass. As the months went by it became clearer to most Americans that England and France were fighting our fight while we stood idly by.

Meanwhile submarine activity was becoming more serious. After numerous vessels had been torpedoed with the loss of some American lives, the great liner *Lusitania*, carrying 1,918 men, women, and children, was sunk, May 7, 1915. Among the 1,154 passengers drowned were 114 Americans. So great was the horror and resentment created throughout the country by this act that probably a majority of United States citizens believed that the time had come when America should enter the war to help the Allies. President Wilson, however, still cherished the hope that if America remained neutral the United States might be the means of reconciling the contending powers and thereby saving endless suffering and millions of lives. The President's forbearance and patience were sorely tried when soon after the destruction of the *Lusitania* other ships were sunk without any effort to save passengers. His spirit can be compared only to that of Lincoln in the Civil War when resisting alike the taunts and slurs of radical abolitionists and the threats of Southern sympathizers, he waited with infinite patience until the time was fit before he issued his proclamation that the slaves were free.

On January 31, 1917, the German government announced that the next day it would begin unrestricted submarine warfare of a far more ruthless character and would sink enemy and neutral ships alike if found

in the proscribed zones. On February 3, 1917, the German ambassador at Washington was dismissed. On February 28, the Federal Secret Service made public the Zimmermann note in which Germany proposed to Mexico that she and Japan form a military alliance for the purpose of gaining territory from the United States. It was no longer possible for any American statesman, no matter how peace-loving, to defend these acts. At last the country was practically unanimous for armed resistance. In the world's history no nation able to protect itself had ever been more reluctant than the United States to relinquish a policy of peace and adopt a policy of war.

Even under these circumstances German spies and sympathizers made a last effort to prevent action on the part of the United States. As Congress assembled in extraordinary session at the call of the President, an attempt was made by German propagandists to create the impression that many citizens were still opposed to America's taking the part of the Allies. On April 2, 1917, however, in the presence of both houses of Congress assembled in joint session, the President with calmness and dignity delivered what is probably the most momentous Message ever spoken by an American executive.

## MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

April 2, 1917

WOODROW WILSON

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session [1] because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made imme-

diately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible [2] that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coast of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us [3] that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable

marks of identity, have been sunk [4] with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all man-

kind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretentions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights

or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant, and yet the most economical and efficient, way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemey's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the

armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on borrowed money. It is our duty, I must respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans. In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are.[5] My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same thing in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days [6] when peoples were nowhere consulted

by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were

here even before the war began, and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were) but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note[7] to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe of liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples—the German people included—for the

rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish objects, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible

and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.[8]

Who in America has the power to declare war?

What were the "choices of policy" before Congress at the time this speech was delivered?

Could President Wilson have made a distinction between the German people and the German government if the German government had been truly democratic?

Premier Asquith in *The Call to Arms* said that England in entering the war was actuated by no narrow or selfish nationalism. Is President Wilson equally altruistic in outlining America's course?

The United States first guarded its own liberty; later it attempted to protect weak American republics; finally it helped to make the world safe for democracy. Was this expansion of its sphere of action the result of a growing moral consciousness, or was it due to other influences?

Did President Wilson advocate a new principle in international law when he maintained that "the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done should be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states"?

# THE MEANING OF AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

April 12, 1917

The news that the American Congress had declared war against Germany was received with joy and enthusiasm throughout France and England. The London papers were filled with articles of appreciation and with accounts of the material and moral aid that was about to come to the Allies. It was the general opinion of English statesmen that the entrance of America into the struggle was the most important event of the war. Ex-premier Asquith said that a day had dawned whose "sun shall not set until the two great English-speaking democracies can rejoice together, as fellow-workers and fellow-combatants, over the triumph of freedom and of right."

At the American Luncheon Club, on April 12, 1917, a great company of distinguished Americans and Britons gathered to celebrate America's entrance into the war. It was said that no unofficial social event within a generation had brought together more men of prominence than were present on this occasion. After the cloth had been removed and toasts to President Wilson and King George had been drunk with much enthusiasm, Ambassador Page, who was presiding, spoke of the President's recent message to Congress. "From all of the states, from the states of the great Mississippi valley, from the South and from the Pacific they will come—as many millions as you need. We

come in answer only to the high call of duty and not for any national reward; not for territory, not for indemnity or conquest; not for anything except the high duty to succor democracy when it is desperately assailed."

The reply made by Premier Lloyd-George to the words of Ambassador Page is one of the most important historical documents brought forth by the great struggle for democracy. It is known as Lloyd-George's speech on *The Meaning of America's Entrance into the War.*

## THE MEANING OF AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE

I AM in the happy position of being, I think, the first Prime minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American nation as comrades in arms. I am glad; I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation will bring to the succor of the alliance, but I rejoice as a democrat that the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

This was the note which ran through the great deliverance of President Wilson. It was echoed, Sir, in your resounding words to-day. The United States of America have the noble tradition never broken, of having never engaged in war except for liberty. And this is the greatest struggle for liberty that they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recalls the

wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandizement and conquest. No wonder when this great war started that there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the people of the United States of America. There were those who thought perhaps that Kings were at their old tricks, and although they saw the gallant Republic of France fighting, they—some of them perhaps—regarded it as the poor victim of a conspiracy of monarchical swashbucklers.[1] The fact that the United States of America has made up its mind, finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty.

They naturally did not know at first what we had endured in Europe for years from this military caste in Prussia. It never has reached the United States of America. Prussia was not a democracy. The Kaiser promises that it will be a democracy after the war. I think he is right. But Prussia not merely was not a democracy. Prussia was not a state; Prussia was an army. It had great industries that had been highly developed; a great educational system; it had its universities; it had developed its science.

All these were subordinate to the one great predominant purpose, the purpose of an all-conquering army which was to intimidate the world. The army was the spear-point of Prussia; the rest was but the gilded haft. That was what we had to deal with in these old countries. It was an army that in recent times had waged three wars, all of conquest,[2] and the unceasing tramp of its legions through the streets of Prussia, on the parade grounds of Prussia, had gone to the Prussian head. The Kaiser, when he witnessed it on a grand scale at his re-

views, got drunk with the sound of it. He delivered the law to the world as if Potsdam were another Sinai, and he was uttering the law from the thunder clouds.

But make no mistake. Europe was uneasy. Europe was half intimidated. Europe was anxious. Europe was apprehensive. We knew the whole time what it meant. What we did not know was the moment it would come.

This is the menace; this is the apprehension from which Europe had suffered for over fifty years. It paralyzed the beneficent activity of all states, which ought to be devoted to concentrating on the well-being of their peoples. They had to think about this menace, which was there constantly as a cloud ready to burst over the land. No one can tell except Frenchmen what they endured from this tyranny, patiently, gallantly, with dignity, till the hour of deliverance came.

I have been asking myself the question, Why did Germany deliberately, in the third year of the war, provoke America to this declaration and to this action—deliberately, resolutely? It has been suggested that the reason was that there were certain elements in American life which they were under the impression would make it impossible for the United States to declare war. That I can hardly believe. But the answer has been afforded by Marshal von Hindenburg himself, in the very remarkable interview which appeared in the press, I think, only this morning.

He depended clearly on one of two things. First, that the submarine campaign, would have destroyed international shipping to such an extent that England would have been put out of business before America was ready. According to his computation, America can not be ready for twelve months. He does not know America. In the alternative, that when America is ready, at the end of twelve months, with her army, she will have no ships to

transport that army to the field of battle. In Von Hindenburg's words, "America carries no weight," I suppose he means she has no ships to carry weight. On that, undoubtedly, they are reckoning.

Well, it is not wise always to assume that even when the German General Staff, which has miscalculated so often, makes a calculation it has no grounds for it. It therefore behooves the whole of the Allies, Great Britain and America in particular, to see that the reckoning of Von Hindenburg is as false as the one he made about his famous line, which we have broken already.

The road to victory, the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory is to be found in one word—ships; and a second word—ships; and a third word—ships. And with that quickness of apprehension which characterizes your nation, Mr. Chairman, I see that they fully realize that, and to-day I observe that they have already made arrangements to build one thousand 3,000-tonners for the Atlantic. I think that the German military advisers must already begin to realize that this is another of the tragic miscalculations which are going to lead them to disaster and to ruin. But you will pardon me for emphasizing that. We are a slow people in these islands—slow and blundering—but we get there. You get there sooner, and that is why I am glad to see you in.

But may I say that we have been in this business for three years? We have, as we generally do, tried every blunder. In golfing phrascology, we have got into every bunker. But we have got a good niblick. We are right out on the course. But may I respectfully suggest that it is worth America's while to study our blunders, so as to begin just where we are now and not where we were three years ago? That is an advantage. In war, time has as tragic a significance as it has in sickness. A step which, taken to-day, may lead to assured victory, taken

to-morrow may barely avert disaster. All the Allies have discovered that. It was a new country for us all. It was trackless, mapless. We had to go by instinct. But we found the way and I am glad that you are sending your great naval and military experts here, just to exchange experiences with men who have been through all the dreary, anxious crises of the last three years.

America has helped us even to win the battle of Arras. She has been making guns, making ammunition, giving us machinery to prepare both; she has supplied us with steel, and she has got all that organization and she has got that wonderful facility, adaptability, and resourcefulness of the great people who inhabit that great continent. Ah! It was a bad day for military autocracy in Prussia when it challenged the great Republic of the West. We know what America can do, and we also know that now she is in it, she will do it. She will wage an effective and successful war.

There is something more important. She will insure a beneficent peace. I attach great importance—and I am the last man in the world, knowing for three years what our difficulties have been, what our anxieties have been, and what our fears have been—I am the last man to say that the succor which is given us from America is not something in itself to rejoice in, and to rejoice in greatly. But I do not mind saying that I rejoice even more in the knowledge that America is going to win the right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations—the course of human life—for God knows how many ages. It would have been tragic for mankind if America had not been there, and there with all the influence, all the power, and the right which she now has won by flinging herself into this great struggle.

I can see peace coming now—not a peace which will

be the beginning of war, not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed; but a real peace. The world is an old world. It has been rocking and swaying like an ocean, and Europe—poor Europe!—has always lived under the shadow of the sword. When this war began, two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Now it is the other way about; and democracy means peace. The democracy of France did not want war; the democracy of Italy hesitated long before they entered the war; the democracy of this country shrank from it—shrank and shuddered—and never would have entered the caldron had it not been for the invasion of Belgium. The democracies sought for peace; strove for peace. If Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war. Strange things have happened in this war. There are stranger things to come, and they are coming rapidly.

There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill; but there are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. Those are the times we are living now. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy; she is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. To-day we are waging the most devastating war that the world has ever seen; to-morrow—perhaps not a distant to-morrow—war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes. This may be something like the fierce outburst of winter which we are now witnessing before the complete triumph of the sun. It is written of those gallant men who won that victory Monday [3]—men from Canada, from Australia, and from this old country, which has proved that in spite of its age it is not decrepit—it is written of those gallant men that they attacked with the dawn—fit work for the dawn!—to drive out of

forty miles of French soil those miscreants who had defiled it for three years. "They attacked with the dawn." Significant phrase!

The breaking up of the dark rule of the Turk, which for centuries had clouded the sunniest land in the world, the freeing of Russia from an oppression which had covered it like a shroud for so long, the great declaration of President Wilson coming with the might of the great nation which he represents into the struggle for liberty are heralds of the dawn. "They attacked with the dawn," and these men are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn, and soon Frenchmen and Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins, will emerge into the full light of a perfect day.

Compare Lloyd-George's literary and oratorical style with that of President Wilson.

Had the United States ever formed a military alliance with Great Britain previous to this war?

Show, if you can, how all the wars in which America engaged had liberty for their objective.

What was Lloyd-George's meaning when he said "democracy means peace"?

Did America, as Lloyd-George hoped, profit by England's mistakes?

Compare the peroration with the closing of one of Wilson's great addresses.

What effect was produced in England by America's entrance into the war?

# PRESIDENT WILSON'S FLAG DAY SPEECH

June 14, 1917

As soon as Congress had passed the resolution declaring war with Germany, the United States government began to put forth its utmost resources to prepare an army. It seemed best to adopt universal military service, since volunteer service was neither efficient nor truly democratic. On May 18, 1917, Congress with some opposition passed the selective draft law; and the President issued a proclamation in which he said the word conscription was used, not because any were unwilling. It signified "rather a selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass."

The hopes thus expressed were realized. On June 5, the day of registration, "ten million men, rich and poor alike, left their occupations and responded to the call quietly, gravely, willingly." As they prepared to leave their homes and all that they most prized, they could not help considering whether country and institutions were worth the sacrifice. The result of their deliberation was a more complete devotion, a more ardent patriotism, and a deeper reverence for the flag.

It was, therefore, to a nation serious-minded and deeply devoted to its new duties, that President Wilson spoke on June 14, 1917. It had been planned, in connection with an elaborate celebration of Flag Day in the Capital city of the nation, that the President should deliver an address in the park near Washington Monument. The weather proved to be unfavorable. Several thousand people, nevertheless, gathered in the rain

about the speaker's stand and awaited eagerly the address of the Chief Executive. Most of the members of the cabinet were present. Robert L. Lansing, secretary of state, introduced the speaker. The President made use of the occasion to speak to those who were soon to follow the flag into foreign lands of the occurrences which had caused the nation to cast aside its old traditions and adopt new views. He told of the evils to be overcome, and spoke eloquently of purposes and principles that were destined, with the help of our army, to bring a better day to the world and to add a new luster to the flag.

## THE FLAG DAY SPEECH

### Woodrow Wilson

My Fellow Citizens: We meet to celebrate Flag Day [1] because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character [2] than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions of our men, the young, the strong, the capable

men of the Nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve. It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that their agents diligently spread sedition among us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance—and some of these agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital.[3] They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of

the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and framed as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller states in

particular and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their class rooms, and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues, lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia, and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else. It rejected the idea of

solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These people did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, and would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Servia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germany trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships [1] lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace

upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point Fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people: they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it: an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the

great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction,—socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or coöperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance for freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is

opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation [5] in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already indentified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a peoples' war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments,—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the

salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

Which is the more democratic, universal military service or volunteer service?

What is your answer to President Wilson's question? Was it for some new purpose, or for some old familiar purpose, that our soldiers were sent across the sea in 1917?

Is the President's account of German intrigue chiefly argumentative or persuasive?

Discuss the danger of Germany's peace intrigue. What steps had been taken in America at this time to combat it?

What did President Wilson mean when he said "our flag shall wear a new luster"?

# PRUSSIANIZED GERMANY

September 26, 1917

THE declaration of war against Germany was passed by Congress with a vote of 461 to 56; and probably an even larger proportion of the citizens of the country was at that time in favor of resisting the Central Empires through force of arms. When the Selective Draft Law was enacted the people responded with remarkable good-will. Even in remote districts settled largely by citizens of foreign birth the burdens of military life were accepted with far less disturbance than had marked the enforcement of the draft in New York City in 1861. There was in 1917 no open resistance to the authority of the government; nevertheless there remained throughout the country numerous individual agitators of noisy dispositions and pro-German sympathies; and German propagandists were still able to arouse among pacifists, obstructionists, and some citizens of foreign birth, a babble of talk more or less seditious in its nature. Newspapers under German influence or control, abused their privilege of free speech; and by conflicting advice as well as by direct opposition, endeavored to prevent the nation from taking the speedy, vigorous, and unified action that is essential to military success.

The success of America's part in the war might have been seriously endangered had not the government and various organizations of patriotic citizens taken vigorous means to curb the action of spies and enemy agents and to impress upon pacifists the fact that it

was no time to talk of the blessings of peace when the country was at war. Citizens of foreign birth were also informed that cosmopolitan views must make way for American ideals.

When the United States first entered the Great War, much sympathy had been felt for the citizens of German birth whose friends and relatives were enrolled in the armies of the enemy. To a fault native citizens had been considerate of their feelings. As soon, however, as seditious talk, fanned by German intrigue, flared up among the foreign-born population, resentment was everywhere aroused. Opposition to disloyal agitation became intense throughout the country, and organized effort was used to bring sedition to an end.

Not all German-Americans were pro-German in their sympathies. Certain Americans of German birth were conspicuous for their patriotic devotion to American institutions and for their abhorrence of the aims of Prussian autocracy. If Germany had hoped that through the use of subsidized newspapers and clandestine associations, she could array the entire American citizenship of German descent on the side of the Fatherland, she was defeated as completely as in any battle of the war. Among the first to shed their blood for America were citizens with German names.

Among men of German birth who at this time rendered conspicuous service to the nation was Otto H. Kahn. It was partly through his influence that late in 1917 practically every form of disloyal utterance was discontinued or stamped out. He had faith that an argumentative and persuasive appeal addressed directly to citizens of foreign birth who were speaking sedition or were adhering to their oath of allegiance with half-hearted loyalty would be effective both to seal their lips and to change their aims and sympathies.

On September 26, 1917, while the country was still aroused with efforts to end seditious agitation, Mr. Kahn delivered a patriotic address before the Chamber of Commerce in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a city inhabited by people of German ancestry and situated in a region in which the German language was extensively spoken. His speech was remarkably effective. It spread far beyond the hall where it was spoken and brought to the hearts of naturalized American citizens a clearer understanding of the obligations involved in the oath of citizenship. It stirred millions of German-Americans and other hyphenated Americans to higher standards of loyalty and recorded in English of unusual excellence a final disapproval of racial subdivisions in American citizenship.

## PRUSSIANIZED GERMANY

### Otto H. Kahn

I SPEAK as one who has seen the spirit of the Prussian governing class at work from close by, having at its disposal and using to the full practically every agency for molding the public mind.

I have watched it proceed with relentless persistency and profound cunning to instill into the nation the demoniacal obsession of power-worship and world-dominion, to modify and pervert the mentality—indeed the very fibre and moral substance—of the German people, a people which until misled, corrupted and systematically poisoned by the Prussian ruling caste, was and deserved to be, an honored, valued, and welcome member of the family of nations.

I have hated that spirit ever since it came within my

ken many years ago; hated it all the more as I saw it ruthlessly pulling down a thing which was dear to me—the old Germany to which I was linked by ties of blood, by fond memories, and cherished sentiments.

The difference in the degree of guilt as between the German people and their Prussian or Prussianized rulers and leaders for the monstrous crime of this war and the atrocious barbarism of its conduct is the difference between the man who, acting under the influence of a poisonous drug, runs amuck in mad frenzy, and the unspeakable malefactor who administered that drug, well knowing and fully intending the ghastly consequences which were bound to follow.

The world fervently longs for peace. But there can be no peace answering to the true meaning of the word—no peace permitting the nations of the earth, great and small, to walk unarmed and unafraid—until the teaching and the leadership of the apostles of an outlaw creed shall have become discredited and hateful in the sight of the German people; until that people shall have awakened to a consciousness of the unfathomable guilt of those whom they have followed into calamity and shame; until a mood of penitence and of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind shall have supplanted the sway of what President Wilson has so trenchantly termed "truculence and treachery."

God strengthen the conscience and the understanding, the will and the power of the German people so that they may find the only way which will give to the world an early peace, the only road [1] which in time will lead Germany back into the family of nations from which it is now an outcast.

From each successive visit to Germany for twenty-five years I came away more appalled by the sinister transmutation Prussianism had wrought amongst the people and

by the portentous menace I recognized in it for the entire world.

It has given to Germany unparalleled prosperity, beneficent and advanced social legislation, and not a few other things of value, but it had taken in payment the soul of the race. It had made a "devil's bargain."

And when this war broke out in Europe I knew that the issue had been joined between the powers of brutal might and insensate ambition on the one side and the forces of humanity and liberty on the other; between darkness and light.

Many there were at that time—and amongst them men for whose character I had high respect and whose motives were beyond any possible suspicion—who saw their own and America's duty in strict neutrality, mentally and actually, but personally I believed from the beginning of the war, whether we liked all the elements of the Allies combination or not—and I certainly did not like the Russia of the Czars—that the cause of the Allies was America's cause.

I believed that this was no ordinary war between peoples for a question of national interest, or even national honor, but a conflict between fundamental principles, aims, and ideas; and so believing I was bound to feel that the natural lines of race, blood and kinship could not be the determining lines for one's attitude and alignment, but that each man, regardless of his origin, had to decide according to his judgment and conscience on which side was the right and on which was the wrong and take his stand accordingly, whatever the wrench and anguish of the decision. And thus I took my stand three years ago.

But whatever one's views and feelings, whatever the country of one's birth or kin, only one course [2] was left for all those claiming the privilege of American citizenship when after infinite forbearance the President decided

that our duty, honor, and safety demanded that we take up arms against the Imperial German Government, and by action of Congress the cause and the fight against that Government were declared our cause and our fight.

The duty of loyal allegiance and faithful service to his country, even unto death, rests, of course, upon every American. But, if it be possible to speak of a comparative degree concerning what is the highest as it is the most elementary attribute of citizenship, that duty may almost be said to rest with an even more solemn and compelling obligation upon Americans of foreign origin than upon native Americans.

For we Americans of foreign antecedents are here not by the accidental right of birth, but by our own free choice for better or for worse.

We are your fellow citizens because we made solemn oath of allegiance to America. Accepting that oath as given in good faith, you have opened to us in generous trust the portals of American opportunity and freedom, and have admitted us to membership in the family of Americans, giving us equal rights in the great inheritance which has been created by the blood and the toil of your ancestors, asking nothing from us in return but decent citizenship and adherence to those ideals and principles which are symbolized by the glorious flag of America.

Woe to the foreign-born American who betrays the trust which you have reposed in him!

Woe to him who considers his American citizenship merely as a convenient garment to be worn in fair weather but to be exchanged for another one in time of storm and stress!

Woe to the German-American, so-called who, in this sacred war for a cause as high as any for which ever people took up arms, does not feel a solemn urge, does not show an eager determination to be in the very fore-front of the

struggle; does not prove a patriot's jealousy, in thought, in action, and in speech to rival and to outdo his native-born fellow citizen in devotion and in willing sacrifice for the country of his choice and adoption and sworn allegiance, and of their common affection and pride.

As Washington led Americans of British blood to fight against Great Britain, as Lincoln called upon Americans of the North to fight their very brothers of the South, so Americans of German descent are now summoned to join in our country's righteous struggle against a people of their own blood, which, under the evil spell of a dreadful obsession, and, Heaven knows, through no fault of ours, has made itself the enemy of this peaceloving nation, as it is the enemy of peace and right and freedom throughout the world.

To gain America's independence, to defeat oppression and tyranny, was indeed to gain a great cause. To preserve the Union, to eradicate slavery, was perhaps a greater still. To defend the very foundations of liberty and humanity, the very groundwork of fair dealing between nations, the very basis of peaceable living together among the peoples of the earth against the fierce and brutal onslaught of ruthless, lawless, faithless might; to spend the lives and the fortunes of this generation so that our descendants may be freed from the dreadful calamity of war and the fear of war, so that the energies and billions of treasure now devoted to plans and instruments of destruction may be given henceforth to fruitful works of peace and progress and to the betterment of the conditions of the people—that is the highest cause for which any people ever unsheathed its sword.

He who shirks the full measure of his duty and allegiance in that noblest of causes, be he German-American, Irish-American, or any other hyphenated American, be he I. W. W., or Socialist, or whatever the appellation,

does not deserve to stand amongst Americans or, indeed, amongst free men anywhere.

He who tries, secretly or overtly, to thwart the declared will and aim of the nation in this holy war is a traitor, and a traitor's fate should be his.

Why was unity of sentiment and action of the greatest importance at the time this speech was delivered?

What means does Kahn take at the beginning of his speech to secure the sympathetic attention of his audience?

Contrast the growth of the American spirit with that of the Prussian military despotism.

What seems to be Kahn's attitude toward the transplanting to America of European languages, customs, and modes of living?

What means does Kahn take to induce German-Americans to oppose themselves against people of their own blood?

Discuss the duties and privileges of an "American by choice."

Why was this speech widely read and quoted?

# PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS AT BALTIMORE

April 6, 1918

In the spring of 1918 the forces of the Central Empires were apparently more successful than at any other time during the war. Hundreds of square miles of Italian territory were held by the Austrians and through the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia had become the slave or vassal of Germany. The effect in America of this success on the part of our enemies was increased activity rather than discouragement.

It had required nearly three years of observation, study, and thought before America could be aroused from its dream of peace and induced to take part in the war. It took a year of participation in the war before activity really became an adequate measure of our resources. But no illusion regarding Prussian aims could be cherished subsequent to the publication of the terms of the Russian treaties. America had cherished the ideal of liberty through enlightenment even before the War for Independence and had throughout her career been incomparably peace-loving. But Prussian autocracy had forced her in a few brief years to organize herself into a great war-machine fitted to answer the Hun with the only arguments that he could understand. With vacillation and debate left behind, and with a unity of purpose and sentiment that was awe-inspiring, this great nation in April, 1918,

devoted all its resources almost to the last man and the last dollar to the war for liberty.

Two war loans had already been floated with remarkable success. Public opinion had demanded that every penny must be saved for the fight. Personal extravagance was a disgrace. The curtailment of display, the wearing of old clothes, extreme economy in food, were universal. When the Third Liberty Loan was announced, President Wilson was asked to take part in the opening of the campaign. On April 6, 1918, at Baltimore, he reviewed twelve thousand troops from Camp Meade and a little later at the Fifth Regiment Armory was introduced by Ex-Governor Goldsborough to an audience of fifteen thousand persons to whom he addressed the speech which follows. In clearness, in directness, in general rhetorical excellence, it is unsurpassed by any other address called forth by the war.

## ADDRESS AT BALTIMORE

### Woodrow Wilson

Fellow-citizens: This is the anniversary[1] of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of freemen everywhere. The nation is awake.[2] There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men, and, if need be, all that we possess.

The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the

utmost,[3] even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means, because the cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least[4] can now see plainly how the cause of justice stands, and what the imperishable thing he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

I call you to witness, my fellow-countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggres-

sion. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause, for we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered—answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice, but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will. The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement.

At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclu-

sion. We can not mistake what they have done—in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Rumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest.

They are enjoying in Russia [5] a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement, and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is, undoubtedly, to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East.

In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations, upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for

the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world—a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem

the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear.

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost,[6] force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

How were the Liberty Loans used?

What was the authority, force, or power that organized America and gave it the determination and the unity of action that we see reflected in President Wilson's Baltimore address?

How did American women help to win the war?

What characteristics of President Wilson's style in this speech imply a sympathetic and responsive audience?

What effect do you suppose was produced in Germany by this address?

Would it have been better if previous to 1914 the United States had maintained in accordance with President Roosevelt's advice a greatly enlarged army and navy?

In what respects was democracy in America advanced during the Great War?

# THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

November 12, 1921

THE allied armies of liberty and democracy under Marshal Foch applied the remedy of "Force, force to the utmost" so relentlessly that the year 1918 saw the collapse of militarism and autocracy. On September 30 Bulgaria surrendered. A month later Turkey gave in to the Allies, and on November 4 Austria-Hungary joined the ranks of the defeated. Deserted by their fellow conspirators, defeated at the front, and disturbed by social uprisings within, Germany too realized that democracy will prevail. On November 9 the Kaiser was forced to abdicate after a reign of thirty years and to renounce the Imperial throne for his sons. Two days later, the eleventh of November, 1918, the Allies granted Germany an armistice, the terms of which were equivalent to complete and unconditional surrender.

The close of hostilities, however, did not formally end the war. Not until three years later, November 18, 1921, was the last treaty signed and peace proclaimed. The slowness of the United States in officially terminating the war was due to the reluctance of many Americans to accept the treaty of Versailles. In addition to specifying the acts of reparation to be made by Germany and the conditions of peace, this document attempted to establish a League of Nations pledged to take an active part—even to the use of military force if necessary—in the settlement of world problems. Various interests at this time made the

United States hesitate to take such a pledge. The exigencies of politics and the American tradition of keeping aloof from foreign entanglements—despite the enlarged view of the Monroe Doctrine, the acquisition of the Philippines, and our part in the World War—seemed to forbid our entering into a military alliance. Nevertheless it was the common opinion in America that something in addition to the signing of routine treaties must be done by the United States to lessen the evils of war.

In recognition of this feeling President Harding invited the governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan to participate in a conference in Washington to discuss limitation of armament. The invitation was sent out August 11, 1921, and the delegates were asked to assemble on November 11, the anniversary of the armistice. On the morning of November 12 the first session was held in the building of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. At an early hour the streets and parkways in the vicinity were crowded with thousands of citizens anxious to get the first news from the conference or eager to obtain sight of distinguished visitors. Soon after ten o'clock the delegates from each of the five principal powers with assistants and military experts had taken their seats; and there were also present representatives of nations interested in minor questions that were to be considered by the conference. The galleries were filled with members of Congress, the diplomatic corps, and other distinguished persons.

When the President entered by a rear door and passed to his seat, a tribute of applause marked the beginning of the conference. A moment of silence followed; and while visitors and delegates awaited expectantly the first opening movement, a breeze from

a lofty window gathered the flags of the participating nations and drew them together at the ceiling in a bond of impressive symbolism. When the chaplain's prayer was concluded, Secretary Hughes, as pro tempore chairman, announced the President of the United States.

After welcoming the delegates President Harding said that the action taken by the conference would have an influence on all human progress. A war-wearied world was demanding assurances of lasting peace. The measureless cost of conflict and the burden of armament made all thoughtful peoples seek to have war outlawed. The millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the cost of destruction into means for construction. "The United States," he added, "welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate nor apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone."

The President's speech created an excellent impression. Every nation was sick of war and every nation was hoping that some means could be found for settling differences without conflict. The President's address, therefore, was exactly adapted to the occasion, although it contained nothing very startling or new. Nor was there anything unusual expected from Secretary Hughes. The delegates were settled in their belief that the first session would be devoted to addresses of welcome and the expression of the common desire for lasting peace. While the audience was thus listening with due and formal decorum, Secretary Hughes presented, in simple, unemotional language, his proposal

for a ten-year naval holiday and the destruction of capital ships. Instantly looks of astonishment flashed into the faces of the delegates and a burst of applause swept through the galleries. The conference at Washington was destined to create a precedent in international councils. At the Hague and elsewhere representatives of powerful nations had discussed means for alleviating the horrors of armed conflicts, but no definite and practical proposition for limiting the armament necessary for carrying on war had ever before been presented at an international conference.

The sincerity that had been shown by President Harding and Secretary Hughes soon infected the delegates. Nations that had been rivals pledged themselves to make sacrifices essential to the carrying out of the plan. The highest hopes were everywhere entertained for the success of the conference. Leaders of thought maintained that if it were possible to limit armaments through international agreement, it would be possible by the same means to reduce armaments little by little until they were completely abolished. If nations could be induced to curtail their preparation for war, the fear of war would gradually disappear and war would soon become unnecessary.

The time at which Secretary Hughes delivered this address was opportune for the acceptance of his views. The world still staggered under its burden of debt and suffering. In no country was there prosperity equal to that of 1914; and in many lands disease, famine, and crime prolonged the misery of the conflict. From its seven years of suffering the world at last had learned that quarrels cannot be settled by war. War, whether voluntary or involuntary, merely postpones settlement. Settlement can come only through the institutions of peace.

# LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

IT is with a deep sense of privilege and responsibility that I accept the honor you have conferred.

Permit me to express the most cordial appreciation of the assurances of friendly coöperation, which have been generously expressed by the representatives of all the invited Governments. The earnest desire and purpose, manifested in every step in the approach to this meeting, that we should meet the reasonable expectation of a watching world by effective action suited to the opportunity, is the best augury for the success of the conference.

The President invited the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan to participate in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions also would be discussed. It would have been most agreeable to the President to have invited all the powers to take part in this conference, but it was thought to be a time when other considerations should yield to the practical requirements of the existing exigency, and in this view the invitation was extended to the group known as the principal allied and associated powers, which, by reason of the conditions produced by the war, control in the main the armament of the world. The opportunity to limit armament lies within their grasp.

It was recognized, however, that the interests of other powers in the Far East made it appropriate that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and, with the approval of the five powers, an invitation to take part in the discussion

of those questions has been extended to Belgium, China, The Netherlands and Portugal.

The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament, but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East and thus greatly to diminish and, if possible, wholly to remove,[1] discernible sources of controversy. It is believed that by interchanges of views at this opportune time the Governments represented here may find a basis of accord and thus give expression to their desire to assure enduring friendship.

In the public discussions which have preceded the conference, there have been apparently two competing views; one, that the consideration of armament should await the result of the discussion of Far Eastern questions, and, another, that the latter discussion should be postponed until an agreement for limitation of armament has been reached. I am unable to find sufficient reason for adopting either of these extreme views. I think that it would be most unfortunate if we should disappoint the hopes which have attached to this meeting by a postponement of the consideration of the first subject.

The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. It is therefore proposed that the conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament.

This, however, does not mean that we must postpone the examination of[2] the Far Eastern questions. These

questions of vast importance press for solution. It is hoped that immediate provision may be made to deal with them adequately, and it is suggested that it may be found to be entirely practicable through the distribution of the work among designated committees to make progress to the ends sought to be achieved without either subject being treated as a hindrance to the proper consideration and disposition of the other.

The proposal to limit armament by agreement of the powers is not a new one, and we are admonished by the futility of earlier effort. It may be well to recall the noble aspirations which were voiced twenty-three years ago in the imperial rescript of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. It was then pointed out with clarity and emphasis that the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development.

Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the Governments have set before themselves. The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à l'outrance* and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days in a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the calamity which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every

thinking man shudder in advance. To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world —such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all States.

It was with this sense of obligation that his Majesty the Emperor of Russia proposed the conference which was "to occupy itself with this grave problem," and which met at The Hague in the year 1899.

Important as were the deliberations and conclusions of that conference, especially with respect to the pacific settlement of international disputes, its result in the specific matter of limitation of armament went no further than the adoption of a final resolution setting forth the opinion that the restriction of military charges which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind, and the utterance of the wish that the Governments may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea, and of war budgets.

It was seven years later that the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, in answering a note of the Russian Ambassador suggesting in outline a program of the second peace conference, said:

"The Government of the United States, therefore, feels it to be its duty to reserve for itself the liberty to propose to the second peace conference, as one of the subjects for consideration, the reduction or limitation of armaments, in the hope that, if nothing further can be accomplished, some slight advance may be made toward the realization of the lofty conception which actuated the Emperor of Russia in calling the first conference."

It is significant that the Imperial German Government expressed itself as "absolutely opposed to the ques-

tion of disarmament," and that the Emperor of Germany threatened to decline to send delegates if the subject of disarmament was to be discussed. In view, however, of the resolution which had been adopted at the first Hague conference, the delegates of the United States were instructed that the subject of limitation of armament should be regarded as unfinished business, and that the second conference should ascertain and give full consideration to the result of such examination as the Governments may have given to the possibility of an agreement pursuant to the wish expressed by the first conference.

But by reason of the obstacles which the subject had encountered, the second peace conference at The Hague, although it made notable progress in provision for the peaceful settlement of controversies, was unable to deal with limitation of armament except by a resolution in the following general terms:

"The conference confirms the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and, inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the Governments should resume the serious examination of this question."

This was the fruition of the efforts of eight years. Although the effect was clearly perceived, the race in preparation of armaments, wholly unaffected by these futile suggestions, went on until it fittingly culminated in the greatest war of history, and we are now suffering from the unparalleled loss of life, the destruction of hopes, the economic dislocations, and the widespread impoverishment which measure [3] the cost of the victory over the brutal pretensions of military force.

But if we are warned by the inadequacy of earlier endeavors for limitation of armament, we cannot fail to

recognize the extraordinary opportunity now presented

We not only have the lessons of the past to guide us, not only do we have the reaction from the disillusioning experiences of war, but we must meet the challenge of imperative economic demands. What was convenient or highly desirable before is now [4] a matter of vital necessity. If there is to be economic rehabilitation, if the longings for reasonable progress are not to be denied, if we are to be spared the uprisings of peoples made desperate in the desire to shake off burdens no longer endurable, competition in armament must stop. The present opportunity not only derives its advantage from a general appreciation of this fact, but the power to deal with the exigency now rests with a small group of nations represented here, who have every reason to desire peace and to promote amity.

The astonishing ambition which lay athwart the promise of the second Hague conference no longer menaces the world, and the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come. Is it not plain that the time has passed for mere resolutions that the responsible powers should examine the question of limitation of armament? We can no longer content ourselves with investigations, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. The essential facts are sufficiently known. The time is come, and this conference has been called not for general resolutions or mutual advice, but for action.

We meet with full understanding that the aspirations of mankind are not to be defeated either by plausible suggestions of postponement or by impracticable counsels of perfection. Power and responsibility are here, and the world awaits a practicable program which shall at once be put into execution.

I am confident that I shall have your approval in

suggesting that in this matter, as well as in others before the conference, it is desirable to follow the course of procedure which has the best promise of achievement rather than one which would facilitate division, and thus, constantly aiming to agree so far as possible, we shall, with each point of agreement, make it easier to proceed to others.

The question in relation to armaments which may be regarded as of primary importance at this time and with which we can deal most promptly and effectively is the limitation of naval armament. There are certain general considerations which may be deemed pertinent to this subject.

The first is that the core of the difficulty is to be found in the competition in naval programs, and that, in order appropriately to limit naval armament, competition in its production must be abandoned. Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and, if competition continues, its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out, and that is to end it now.

It is apparent that this cannot be accomplished without serious sacrifices. Enormous sums have been expended upon ships under construction, and building programs which are now under way cannot be given up without heavy loss. Yet if the present construction of capital ships goes forward, other ships will inevitably be built to rival them, and this will lead to still others. Thus the race will continue, so long as ability to continue lasts. The effort to escape sacrifices is futile. We must face them or yield our purpose.

It is also clear that no one of the naval powers should be expected to make the sacrifices alone. The only hope of limitation of naval armament is by agreement among

the nations concerned, and this agreement should be entirely fair and reasonable in the extent of the sacrifices required of each of the powers. In considering the basis of such agreement and the commensurate sacrifices to be required it is necessary to have regard to the existing naval strength of the great naval powers, including the extent of construction already effected in the case of ships in process. This follows from the fact that one nation is as free to compete as another, and each may find grounds for its action.

What one may do another may demand the opportunity to rival, and we remain in the thrall of competitive effort.

I may add that the American delegates are advised by their naval experts that the tonnage of capital ships may fairly be taken to measure the relative strength of navies, as the provision for auxiliary combatant craft should sustain a reasonable relation to the capital ship tonnage allowed.

It would also seem to be a vital part of a plan for the limitation of naval armament that there should be a naval holiday. It is proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships.

I am happy to say that I am at liberty to go beyond these general propositions, and, on behalf of the American delegation acting under the instructions of the President of the United States, to submit to you a concrete proposition for an agreement for the limitation of naval armament.

It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan and the United States. In view of the extraordinary conditions, due to the World War, affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, it is not thought to be necessary to

discuss at this stage of the proceedings the tonnage allowance of these nations, but the United States proposes that this matter be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

In making the present proposal the United States is most solicitous to deal with the question upon an entirely reasonable and practicable basis to the end that the just interests of all shall be adequately guarded, and the national security and defense shall be maintained. Four general principles have been applied:

1 That all capital shipbuilding programs, either actual or projected, should be abandoned.

2 That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.

3 That in general regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the powers concerned.

4 That the capital ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies, and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

With[5] the acceptance of this plan, the burden of meeting the demands of competition in naval armament will be lifted. Enormous sums will be released to aid the progress of civilization. At the same time the proper demands of national defense will be adequately met, and the nations will have ample opportunity during the naval holiday of ten years to consider their future course. Preparation for future naval war shall stop now. I shall not attempt at this time to take up the other topics which have been listed on the tentative agenda proposed in anticipation of the conference.

Why is it more feasible to limit naval armament than land armament?

If the Hughes plan for scrapping a billion dollars' worth of ships is carried out, what do you think will be the economic results?

In what ways will a decrease of armament lessen the probability of war?

Point out one or more instances in this speech where Secretary Hughes shrewdly anticipated difficulties and attempted to circumvent them.

Compare the oratorical style of this speech with that of the *Farewell Address*. How far is the difference in style indicative of a difference in social conditions?

As we scan the pages of history we trace in the words of the great thinkers and speakers the evolution of the principles of liberty and democracy that have helped to make the world equitable and safe for us. We read the words of Burke, of Lincoln, and of Wilson, and realize how great men in days that are gone met the crises that confronted them and won the priceless heritage that is ours. But the fight for liberty and democracy was not finished by the great statesmen who have gone before us, nor was it ended with the Great War, nor will it terminate with the making of a League of Nations. It can never end while there is a human race. As long as there are hearts to beat and souls to aspire, men will seek to brighten the flame of liberty.

If we may judge the future by the past, Americans can look forward with confidence to an ever-brightening day. As President McKinley once said:

"Thus far we have done our supreme duty. Shall we now, when the victory won in war is to be written in the treaty of peace and the civilized world applauds and awaits in expectation, turn timidly away from the duties imposed upon the country by its own great deeds? And when the mists fade and we see with clearer vision, may we not go forth rejoicing in a strength which has been employed solely for humanity and always been tempered with justice and mercy, confident of our ability to meet the exigencies that await, because confident that our course is one of duty and our cause that of right?"

# LIVES AND NOTES

## JAMES OTIS

James Otis was born in Barnstable, Massachusetts, February 5, 1725. In 1743 he was graduated from Harvard. He soon became a distinguished lawyer. In February, 1761, as a result of his famous speech on the *Writs of Assistance,* he was elected to the Colonial Assembly. In 1765 he was a delegate for Massachusetts to the Colonial Congress. Four years later his active life was ended by a ruffianly attack received in a darkened room in a coffee house from a number of men whose anger he had stirred through a controversy in the newspapers. He never recovered from the effects of this brutal assault and was thereafter subject to recurring periods of insanity. On May 23, 1783, he was killed by a stroke of lightning.

### Writs of Assistance

The text is taken from William Tudor's *Life of James Otis,* Boston, 1823.

[1] *The whole range of argument.* The speech as originally delivered was a learned and exhaustive legal argument that occupied four or five hours. The brief section given here was recorded by John Adams, who was present, and is all that remains.

[2] *I engaged in it from principle.* Note the persuasive influence of his manly and conscientious attitude.

[3] *One king his head.* Charles I had been executed after trial by the Rump Parliament in 1649. As a result of the "Peaceful Revolution of 1688" James II had been forced to flee, and William of Orange was invited to become king.

[4] *Curse of Canaan.* See Genesis 9:25. The curse was visited upon Canaan by Noah because of Canaan's father's sin.

[5] *14th Charles II* refers to a law made in the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles II.

[6] *Tumult and blood.* Is the last part of Otis's speech an exaggeration?

## WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was born at Westminster in 1708. He was educated at Eton, and at Trinity College, Oxford. At both schools he gave much attention to rhetoric and elocution. On account of ill health he was not graduated from Oxford, but after leaving the university continued his studies. His favorite pastime was to translate and read aloud the works of Demosthenes, his model. In addition to this, he studied the sermons of Dr. Barrow, and memorized Bailey's Dictionary. With this preparation in rhetoric he coupled arduous study of voice and gesture. To a tall, imposing—almost princely—bearing, Chatham added every kind of power known to orators. Ridicule and taunt vied with pathos and exultation as he moved his hearers to enthusiasm. His language at all times was simple and free from figures of speech. He followed intuition rather than reason. His speeches naturally were not set pieces, for he depended on the occasion for his choice of words.

To this unusual ability in rhetoric and a magnetic personal bearing, Chatham added unquestionable sincerity and a deep sense of national honor and dignity. His passion for liberty made him the friend of the American people. "I rejoice," he said, "that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to let themselves be made slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!"

While Chatham was in power, Walpole and the other ministers were forced to take second place. The jealousy of his opponents and the autocracy of his manner, nevertheless, did not diminish his popularity. When he died, May 11, 1778, liberty and democracy lost one of their staunchest advocates.

### American Taxation

The text is slightly abridged from *The World's Famous Orations,* vol. III, p. 197, New York, 1906.

[1] *I could have endured to be carried.* In what ways does the use of this expression help Chatham to get a hearing?

[2] *His majesty recommends.* Compare this reference to the King with that of Otis.

[3] *The importance of the subject.* Burke said of the American question, "Surely it is an awful subject or there is none this side the grave." The vision of these two statesmen is as remarkable as the shortsightedness of the King and most of his ministers. Had America been granted full participation in the English Constitution and even representation in Parliament, England, through the precedent, would have become the center of a great world empire; there would have been no Irish question, and instead of being joined as now by an uncertain and intangible bond, the British colonies would have become organic members of a vast but unified nation.

[4] *The distinction between legislation and taxation.* This was the British view and was maintained also by Burke. The Americans, however, prior to the declaration of independence had denied the distinction and had passed from "No taxation without representation" to "No legislation without representation."

[5] *Virtual representation* should be recognized as a step toward democracy. It at least acknowledged the right of representation.

[6] *I am no courtier of America.* Chatham's career as statesman illustrates the ultimate correctness and worth of a policy based on justice and right.

[7] *The whole house of Bourbon.* Kings descended from the Bourbon family ruled at this time in France, Spain, and Naples.

## JOHN WILKES

John Wilkes was born in London in 1727. He came from a wealthy family and received a good education at the University of Leyden. He was elected to Parliament in 1757. In 1762, when Lord Bute forced Pitt from office, Wilkes published *The North Briton* in order to aid Pitt. No. 45 of this paper in which he maligned the government was adjudged a seditious libel and Wilkes was sent to jail. On appeal to the courts, however, he was awarded $20,000 damages for illegal imprisonment. In 1769 he was elected four times in succession to sit in Parliament for Middlesex, but the House of Commons each time refused to accept him and seated his opponent who had received fewer votes. He became a popular hero and would have gained the support of the entire country but for his bad personal character. In 1774 he was elected Lord Mayor of London. He represented Middlesex in Parliament from

1774 to 1790 and became the champion of the right of free representation by British constituencies. He died in 1797.

### War with America

For the complete text see *Speeches of Mr. Wilkes in the House of Commons,* Third ed., p. 7. Preface dated London, December 9, 1786.

[1] *Some very powerful cause.* This statement finds a point of agreement with the audience and arouses their interest in what is to come.

[2] *Carry to the foot of the throne.* The House of Commons, assembled as a committee of the whole, was considering an address to the King upon the disturbances in America. The language and spirit of the resolution was such that it virtually proposed a policy of war.

[3] *I well know what will follow.* Only those who are familiar with the state of public opinion in the colonies in February, 1775, can appreciate how remarkable is this prophecy and its fulfillment. The Americans at this time sought merely to use whatever means were necessary to secure their rights as Englishmen under the English Constitution. Although, no doubt, there were in America as in every country discontented individuals who sought revolution as the remedy for all political evils, there was when Wilkes spoke no general demand in the colonies for independence. John Jay said that previous to the rejection of the second petition of Congress in 1775 he 'never heard an American of any class or any description express a wish for the independence of the colonies.'

Even after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill in the Dickinson declaration, published by George Washington when he took command of the American troops, it is said, "We most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator has graciously bestowed upon us, the arms which we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverence employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen than to live slaves.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish

to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to incite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states."

The demand for independence that was prevalent throughout the colonies a few months later was the outgrowth of military necessity. After Arnold's disastrous expedition into Canada it seemed impossible that the poorly organized American troops could cope with the armies of Great Britain without foreign help. Although the great body of Englishmen sympathized with the colonists in their struggle for liberty, Parliament and the King seemed bent on destroying America. The government finding it difficult to induce Britons to fight their kin across the sea, hired seventeen thousand Hessians to prosecute the war. The use of mercenary soldiers, of whom an indefinite number could be secured, convinced the colonists that they never could succeed in arms except through an alliance with foreign powers, which necessitated separation from the empire. The eyes of the American patriots, therefore, turned in 1776 more or less reluctantly to France, and Silas Deane was sent as ambassador to Paris.

On June 7 1776, Richard Lee of Virginia introduced into the Continental Congress the following resolution:

"Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, totally dissolved." On July 4, 1776, the resolution was incorporated in the Declaration of Independence and was passed.

Wilkes, on February 6, 1775, was led to make his remarkable prophecy, not through any rumor that the colonists would seek independence, but merely through his knowledge of the temper of the King and his ministers, and his belief in the determination and earnestness of the American people, and his faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles of universal liberty that were involved.

[4] *The blue riband.* Lord North, the prime minister, was a Knight of the Garter. The badge of the order was a blue ribbon.

## EDMUND BURKE

Edmund Burke was born in Ireland, January 12, 1729. In 1748 he was graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and two years later took up the study of law at the Temple, London. For six years little was heard of him, and then he published a *Vindication of Natural Society,* and a *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful.* As a result of the fame these essays brought him he became a member of Johnson's famous literary club. He was also engaged to prepare a survey of important events for the *Annual Register.* For thirty years he edited this annual chronicle, and it is largely through the information thus gained that he was able to speak authoritatively in Parliament.

In 1761, he became assistant-secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. Rather than become a political vassal, he resigned in 1765, but his generally recognized ability soon won him an appointment with Lord Rockingham, the prime minister. In 1766 he was elected to Parliament for the pocket-borough of Wendover. In 1774, in recognition of his speech on *American Taxation,* he was elected to represent Bristol, a city second in importance in England. It was immediately after this election which greatly added to his prestige, that he delivered his masterpiece on *Conciliation with America.* With his death in 1797, his long fight for just and honest government came to a close.

### Conciliation with America

The text is taken from *The Works of Edmund Burke,* London, 1801, vol. III, p. 25. The editors suggest that not more than half of *Conciliation with America* be assigned for class study. In their experience results have justified the omission of the less important parts of the speech and much corroborative detail. In the present edition the suggested omissions are printed in smaller type.

[1] *Sir.* Sir Philip Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons.

[2] *A worthy member.* Mr. Rose Fuller, who in 1774 moved to repeal the tax on tea. It was on this motion that Burke delivered his speech on *American Taxation.*

[3] *Paper government.* Theoretical government, possibly a reference to Locke's scheme of colonial government for Carolina.

[4] *Juridical determination.* This project of Lord North's, Burke had called an "auction of finance" since each colony through the size of its appropriation was to bid for privileges. That it did not provide for a free grant from the colonies is evident: for the share that any colony should be required to furnish for defense was determined by the authorities in England; most of the former obnoxious taxes could be retained under the provision for regulating commerce; and, finally, if the assemblies failed to give, the revenue would be exacted.

[5] *Colony agents.* As the colonies lacked the privilege of direct representation in Parliament, they often sent agents to watch legislation and try to influence it. The fact that they had to stay in the lobby, gave rise to the word lobbyist.

[6] *Noble lord's project.* The project is outlined in the following resolution passed by the House on February 20, 1775:

"That when the Governor, Council, or Assembly, or General Court, of any of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation, of such Province or Colony, for contributing their proportion to the Common Defense (such proportion to be raised under the Authority of the General Court, or General Assembly, of such Province or Colony, and disposable by Parliament), and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the Civil Government, and the Administration of Justice, in such Province or Colony, it will be proper, if such Proposal shall be approved by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such Provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such Province or Colony, to levy any duty, Tax, or Assessment, or to impose any further Duty, Tax, or Assessment, except such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for the Regulation of Commerce; the Nett Produce of the Duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such Province or Colony respectively."

[7] *Bills of pains and penalties.* Such were the Boston Port bill and the Grand Penal bill.

[8] *The object* was America as a commercial ally of Britain.

[9] *This gentleman.* Richard Glover, the poet, who petitioned Parliament against the Spaniards in 1742.

[10] *Bar.* The railing that excludes non-members from the main area of the House of Commons.

[11] *Acta parentum jam legere et quæ sit poterit cognoscere virtus.* To read the deeds of his forefathers and to know what virtue is.

[12] *Roman charity.* He refers to the Roman story of Cymon, who, condemned to death by starvation, was kept alive by his daughter, Xanthippe, who visited him in prison and nourished him with milk from her breasts.

[13] *Seemed even to excite your envy.* Lord North's Grand Penal bill attempted to put a stop to the New England fisheries.

[14] *Frozen serpent.* Hydrus, a small constellation within the Antarctic Circle.

[15] *Dissidence of dissent.* Extreme dissent.

[16] *Friend.* Attorney-general Thurlow.

[17] *Abeunt studia in mores.* Studies pass into character.

[18] *Lord Dunmore.* Governor of Virginia.

[19] *To change that spirit.* Note the argument by elimination. Burke prefers to have the third choice accepted because the other two were unsuitable rather than force validity by specific argument.

[20] *Giving up the colonies.* Dean Tucker of Gloucester advocated the giving up of the colonies in 1774, maintaining that England could get the entire trade of America by merely offering the best market.

[21] *Spoliatis arma supersunt:* Juvenal, *Satires* VIII, 124. "Those who have been despoiled, may resort to arms."

[22] *The ocean remains.* This suggests a very real and effective argument. When it required months to cross the sea the bonds between America and the Mother Country were necessarily weak. The lack of speedy and adequate communication with England was undoubtedly one of the most important causes of the demand for independence.

Among neighbors an understanding is necessary even though we ignore people far away with whom we have no dealing. One of the chief incentives to the growth of Federal authority in America has been improvement in transportation and communication. In like manner modern development in these arts makes it impossible for America longer to ignore her international obligations.

[23] *Sir Edward Coke.* An erudite but heartless magistrate who in 1603 at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh for treason assailed the prisoner in spiteful language.

[24] *Ex vi termini.* From the meaning of the word.

[25] *Formerly addressed.* They petitioned the King, February 13, 1769.

[26] *A necessary evil.* Is not this argumentative rather than persuasive?

[27] *Revenue act.* The Stamp Act.

[28] *The colonies will go further.* Burke's opponents feared that if the revenue laws were repealed, it would be the first step toward self-government and the permanent loss of the colonies. Burke later refutes this.

[29] *Philip the Second:* son of Charles V. He is best known for his famous fleet, the Spanish Armada, with which he unsuccessfully tried to wrest the English throne from Elizabeth.

[30] *The genius of the English Constitution.* The English Constitution is not a single, written document containing the fundamental principles of government as does the Constitution of the United States. It is rather made up of historical traditions, and important acts, such as the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and other charters. It is by no means indefinite or vaguely defined. Burke refers to it with perfect confidence, finding in its treatment of Ireland, Chester, Wales, and Durham, satisfactory precedents for a different treatment of the American colonies than that advocated by Lord North and his followers.

[31] *Simul,* etc. Horace, *Odes,* I, 12, 27-32. As soon as the bright star shone upon the sailors, the troubled water recedes from the rocks, the winds die away, the clouds scatter, and because they (Castor and Pollux) have so willed, the threatening wave subsides into the sea.

[32] *Opposuit natura:* nature opposes it.

[33] *Republic of Plato,* etc.: well-known accounts of ideal commonwealths.

[34] *The year 1763:* the year in which Grenville came into power. Before this a policy of "salutary neglect" had been pursued, but was then discarded for a new policy of exaction.

[35] *By grant and not by imposition.* The colonial assemblies were to vote money to the King as a voluntary gift, and were not to be subjected to taxes, such as the Stamp Act, imposed by Parliament without their being consulted. This involved the repeal of the Declaratory Act.

[36] *Fourteen colonies.* Quebec was included.

[37] *Non meus,* etc. The language is not mine, but that taught by Ofellus, a rustic, but unusually wise.

[38] *Lord Hillsborough.* Secretary of State for the colonies, 1768-1772.

[39] *Restraining bill.* The Grand Penal Bill.

[40] *Far less power.* The King did not have the power of veto in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

[41] *Ireland has.* The Irish Parliament was abolished in 1800.

[42] *Experimentum in corpore vili.* Let us experiment on a worthless object.

[43] *Posita luditur arca.* The money chest is given as a stake.

[44] *Sursum corda!* Lift up your hearts! is the exhortation with which in the service of the church the priest proceeds to consecrate the elements.

[45] *Quod felix faustumque sit.* May it be happy and fortunate. It is the Roman invocation on beginning or concluding a solemn act.

## PATRICK HENRY

Patrick Henry was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1736. With James Otis he shares the distinction of being the first to advocate resistance by force of arms as the only remedy for the evils existing in the relations between England and America. Under his leadership, Virginia was the first state to oppose the Stamp Act. He introduced into the House of Burgesses a resolution denying that Parliament had the right to tax the American colonies. He realized that the trouble was caused by the ministers of George III, and in the frequently quoted passage boldly asserted, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I had his Cromwell, and George III——" Here pausing until the cry of "Treason!" from several parts of the house had ended, he deliberately added "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." Henry was twice elected governor of Virginia, and his influence was very important in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. He was somewhat afraid of setting up a strong central government, for as he often said, "A wrong step made now will plunge us into misery, and our republic will be lost." He died in Charlotte County, Virginia, in the same year as Washington, 1799.

### Liberty or Death

The text is taken from *The Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry,* by William Wirt Henry, New York, 1891, vol. I, p. 262. Moses Coit Tyler says of the version of the speech here followed, that it certainly gives the substance of Henry's argument and is "probably more authentic than are most of the famous speeches attributed to public characters before reporters' galleries were opened and before the art of reporting was brought to its present perfection."

[1] *That insidious smile.* A rumor was current that nearly all that the Continental Congress had asked for in its petition to the King on September 1, 1774, was about to be granted. Henry's distrust of this report was justified, for the rumor proved to be unfounded.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on February 22, 1732, of sturdy old English stock. His father, Augustine Washington, was a successful planter. While Washington was still an infant the family lived for a time on the estate on the Potomac now known as Mount Vernon; but they soon moved again to another of his father's farms. At Fredericksburg, Va., he received a common school education; he also studied surveying and possibly learned a little Latin.

At the age of fifteen he returned to Mount Vernon to live with his brother. There he became acquainted with Lord Fairfax and was engaged by this gentleman to survey his tracts of land beyond the Blue Ridge. It was a romantic and venturesome undertaking for a boy of sixteen. For three years he lived much of the time in the wilderness and became expert in woodcraft.

In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie selected the young surveyor to bear a message of remonstrance to the commandant of the French who were attempting to establish settlements in the Ohio valley. The hazardous mission was performed so successfully that Washington was made a lieutenant colonel and was soon attached to the staff of General Braddock. In the French and Indian war he gained a knowledge of military tactics and the reputation at the age of twenty-six as the best known

military man in America. Through the disasters that the army experienced, he had learned one most valuable fact—that British regulars were not invincible.

In 1759 he married Mrs. Martha Custis and lived the life of a planter and country gentleman on his estate of 2500 acres at Mount Vernon. During these years he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. In 1774 he journeyed on horseback with Patrick Henry to attend the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

When he was made commander-in-chief of the American forces he called all to witness that he assumed the office as an act of duty and not by his own desire. Through the entire war he refused to accept a cent of pay. After his retirement from the presidency he lived at Mount Vernon but two years and died, at the age of sixty-seven, on December 14, 1799.

### The Farewell Address

The text is that of the Philadelphia *American Daily Advertiser* for September 19, 1796, with sufficient changes to make it conform to modern practices in orthography.

Near the close of Washington's first term as president, when he contemplated retiring from office, he sent Madison notes he had prepared for a farewell address and asked for assistance. The suggestions offered by Madison he used to a certain extent when preparing the address he drew up near the close of his second term. This new manuscript was forwarded to Alexander Hamilton for further advice. Hamilton, after many conferences with Chief Justice Jay, sent his suggestions to the president. These manuscripts Washington considered carefully and at last, after much rigorous and careful revision, produced the speech that is known to-day as his *Farewell Address*. That it embodies the ideas and thoughts of Washington and was composed in the main by Washington himself, is the opinion of the most reliable historians and critics.

In the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, part 2, page 256, David C. Claypole, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, has given an account of the original publication of the *Farewell Address:*

"A few days before the appearance of this memorable document in print, I received a message from the President by his private secretary signifying his desire to see me. I waited on him at the appointed time, and found him sitting alone in the

drawing-room. He received me very kindly and after I had paid my respects to him, desired me to take a seat near him—then addressing himself to me said, that he had for some time past contemplated withdrawing from public life, and had at length concluded to do so at the end of the (then) present term; that he had some thoughts and reflections on the occasion, which he deemed proper to communicate to the people of the United States in the form of an address, and which he wished to appear in the *Daily Advertiser,* of which I was editor. He paused, and I took occasion of thanking him for having preferred that paper as the channel of his communication with the people, especially as I viewed this selection as indicating his approbation of the principles and manner in which the work was conducted. He silently assented, and asked when the publication could be made. I answered that the time should be made perfectly convenient to himself, and the following Monday was fixed on;—he then told me his secretary would call on me with the copy of the address on the next (Friday) morning and I withdrew.

"After the proof sheet had been compared with the copy and corrected by myself, I carried another proof and then a revise to be examined by the President, who made but few alterations from the original, except in the punctuation, in which he was very minute.

"The publication of the Address dated 'United States, September 17, 1796,' being completed on the 19th, I waited on the President with the original, and in presenting it to him expressed my regret at parting with it and how much I should be gratified by being permitted to retain it; upon which, in an obliging manner, he handed it back to me, saying, that if I wished for it, I might keep it; and I took my leave of him."

The original document and a copy of the paper in which it was first published are preserved in the New York Public Library.

[1] *New election.* November 8, 1796. As the electoral college at that time actually chose a president, it was not necessary to announce candidates so far in advance as now.

[2] *On the proper occasion.* In his inaugural address of April 30, 1789.

[3] *The inferiority of my qualifications.* Chief Justice Jay, in a letter written in 1811, gives personal testimony to support Washington's authorship of the *Address* and observes that such words as these and similar expressions at the end of the speech

could hardly come from any one except George Washington.

[4] *A former and not dissimilar occasion.* His letter of farewell to the army, June 8, 1783.

[5] *Palladium.* An image of Athene, that as long as preserved, conferred safety on Troy.

[6] *Treaty with Spain.* The Pinckney treaty of 1795 established the southern boundary of the United States and insured the free navigation of the Mississippi river.

[7] *Two treaties.* The second was the treaty with England negotiated by Chief Justice Jay. Among other advantages it freed the West from British soldiers that had been quartered there; but it secured far fewer trading rights than were desired and it failed to terminate the impressment of American seamen.

[8] *The most horrid enormities.* Probably Washington had in mind the Reign of Terror. Observe, as you read on, that Washington's counsel is that citizens should discourage, restrain, moderate, mitigate, and assuage the fury of party spirit. He does not condemn the orderly association of people of like view for the promotion of any proper object.

[9] *Cherish public credit.* In 1780 John Jay was sent as plenipotentiary to Spain with the hope that he would be able to obtain a subsidy for America. Spain turned a deaf ear to his entreaty and would not even recognize his credentials. In the meantime Congress had drawn bills upon him for more than half a million dollars. Jay first used his personal means and then begged money where he could, but at last was forced to protest the bills. The credit of the new country was, however, saved for the time being by a subsidy granted by France.

At the close of the Revolution the country was again bankrupt and was unable to borrow money anywhere. Many specious arguments were offered by influential men for the cancellation of all American public debts. Washington would not countenance the plan. He appointed as Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who was honest and far-seeing beyond most men of his time. Hamilton established the excise and a national banking system, and announced to the world that he would pay with interest every cent of American debt.

[10] *Inveterate antipathies.* Great Britain, France, and Spain were each detested at this time by a different group of the American people and were each equally favored by others. In 1793 the French sent Genet as minister to America. Without even presenting his credentials to the Federal government, he

began enlisting American recruits and fitting out privateers to prey on British commerce. Some favored him because of love for France, and others because of hatred for England He caused much disturbance before his commission was cancelled.

[11] *My proclamation.* A proclamation of neutrality in the war of England, Prussia, Austria, Holland, and Spain against France.

## DANIEL WEBSTER

Daniel Webster was born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, in 1782 of extremely poor parents. In spite of his poverty, his father was resolved that the boy should be well educated. Although hindered by many obstacles, Daniel was finally graduated from Dartmouth in 1801. After a brief experience at teaching he entered law and long stood at the head of his profession.

In 1819 occurred his first great legal battle, the celebrated Dartmouth College case, in which the corporation was first recognized as a legal entity. But it is really as a persuasive orator that he achieved his greatest fame. In December, 1820, he delivered an oration at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Plymouth Colony. In June, 1825, came the famous address at Bunker Hill. The following year he spoke at Faneuil Hall on Adams and Jefferson.

Webster represented Portsmouth, N. H. in the House of Representatives from 1813 to 1827, when he was elected United States senator from Massachusetts. In 1830, his *Reply to Hayne* placed him at once in a foremost position among American statesmen and marked the climax of his political career. In 1839, he became secretary of state to President Harrison, and continued in office under President Tyler. In 1842 he negotiated with Lord Ashburton a treaty establishing the boundary line between the United States and Canada. For a few years he enjoyed private life, but in 1845 was sent again to the Senate, and was there active during the Mexican War. His support of the Compromise of 1850 "in all its points" including the Fugitive Slave Law did much to lessen his popularity and dim his fame. When Fillmore became president Webster again became secretary of state, and occupied that position until he died, October 24, 1852.

### First Bunker Hill Address

The text is slightly abridged from vol. I, p. 59 of *The Works of Daniel Webster,* 6th ed., Boston, 1853.

[1] *Ancient colony.* This description would apply to Virginia, New York and other colonies.

[2] *Society whose organ I am.* The Bunker Hill Monument Association was founded in 1823. Daniel Webster was its second president.

[3] *The foundation of that monument.* Seventeen years later the granite obelisk, 221 feet in height, was completed.

[4] *Venerable men.* Two hundred veterans of the Revolutionary War were present; forty of them had taken part in the battle of Bunker Hill.

[5] *One who now hears me.* The Marquis de Lafayette came to the United States in 1777 and was given a commission as major-general He took part in several battles and was once wounded. When he returned to America in 1825 as the nation's guest, he was given a triumphal progress wherever he went.

[6] *Serus in coelum redeas.* May it be long before you return to heaven.

[7] *"I am the state."* This is the French expression of the English principle of the Divine Right of Kings.

[8] *Struggle of the Greeks:* the Greek war with the Turks for independence.

### Webster's Reply to Hayne

The text is abridged from vol. III, pp. 249-349 of *The Works of Daniel Webster,* 6th ed., Boston, 1853. It was spoken originally in connection with the debate of Foot's bill to limit the sale of public lands and was known extensively as Webster's speech on Foot's resolution. It required a day for its delivery.

[1] *The honorable gentleman:* Robert Y. Hayne. He was born in South Carolina in 1791 and became speaker of the state assembly in 1816. He refused the attorney-generalship of the United States to become the attorney-general of South Carolina. In 1822 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he frequently presented with eloquence the views of Calhoun who was vice-president. He afterward became governor of South Carolina and died in 1840.

[2] *Hearty concurrence.* Webster's generosity and his love for the Union as a whole, leaves no doubt that this is his sincere

opinion. As a debater, nevertheless, he was accustomed to differ with his opponents on as few matters as possible and to try to turn the ideas that they presented most elaborately into arguments for his own side.

[3] *Honored name.* Hayne's grandfather was a famous Revolutionary patriot. This generous reference to the ancestry of his opponent, went far to disarm criticism and to secure for Webster a sympathetic hearing.

[4] *The people's constitution.* On the morning of this debate a friend of Webster's said, "It is a critical moment; and it is time, it is high time that the people of this country should know what this Constitution is." "Then," replied Mr. Webster, "by the blessing of heaven they shall learn this day before the sun goes down what I understand it to be." Webster held that the will of the people exercised through the Federal government is supreme and of necessity the states must submit.

The emphasis secured by his recurring use of the word 'people' in this paragraph, reminds one of the similar use of the word in Lincoln's Gettysburg speech.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth president of the United States, was born in Harden County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. In spite of the limitations and hardships of his early life, he educated himself by reading and diligent study. In 1834, he was elected to the legislature of Illinois, and three years later was admitted to the bar. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, and in 1858 was defeated for the United States Senate by Stephen A. Douglas. Two years later he became president, and entered upon an administration of unparalleled greatness and permanent service. Perhaps no other presidential term has been chronicled with so much detail and painstaking research; and certainly no public career was ever more worthy of comprehensive study. On April 14, 1865, his life was suddenly ended by the assassin's bullet.

"He lived," said Joseph H. Choate, "to see his proclamation of emancipation embodied in an amendment to the Constitution. It was given to him to witness the surrender of the Rebel Army and the fall of their capitol, and the starry flag that he loved waving in triumph over the national soil. When he died by the madman's hand in the supreme hour of victory the vanquished lost their best friend, and the human race one

of its noblest examples, and all the friends of freedom and justice, in whose cause he lived and died, joined hands as mourners at his grave."

### Lincoln's Address at Cooper Institute

The text is abridged from *Address of Abraham Lincoln Issued by the Young Men's Republican Club,* New York, 1860.

[1] *The Constitution of the United States.* The constitutional convention met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, on May 25, 1787. There were fifty-five delegates chosen from among the most distinguished men in America. After Washington had been elected chairman, the convention debated in secret for nearly four months. When the work was completed, thirty-nine of the forty-two delegates then present signed the document. Its success is largely due to the fact that it was founded, not on theory, but on approved precedent existing in the English Constitution or in the organization of the American states. It is unequalled by any work of its kind produced during the history of the world.

[2] *Corporal oath:* a solemn oath, originally so named from laying the hand on some sacred object, as the corporal-cloth of the altar.

[3] *John Brown* was a fanatic who had been spurred on to violence by his experiences in Kansas in 1854 during the struggle for control by the slavery and anti-slavery factions. After seizing the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Va., he 'emancipated' the slaves in that vicinity. He was soon overpowered, tried for treason, and hanged. Although Brown's action was not justified by the abolitionists, the incident greatly increased the growing ill-will between the South and the North.

[4] *Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon.* About two years before the delivery of this speech, Felice Orsini, an Italian patriot, attempted to assassinate Napoleon III. The English people were suspected by the French of being in sympathy with the plot.

[5] *Helper's book: The Impending Crisis of the South,* by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina, was published in 1857 and had an extensive sale. It was a severe criticism of slavery.

## EDWARD D. BAKER

Edward Dickinson Baker was born in London, England, February 24, 1811. In 1815 his father moved to Philadelphia,

and ten years later to Illinois. He followed his father's trade as weaver for a while, and then took up the study of law. He was admitted to the bar at Springfield, and in 1837 was sent to the state legislature. In 1840 he was made state senator, and four years later representative to Congress. He resigned his seat in 1846 to take active part in the Mexican War in which he distinguished himself at the siege of Vera Cruz and at Cerro Gordo. From 1849 to 1851 he again served in Congress. In the latter year he went to California to practice law. In 1860 he was elected United States senator from Oregon. At the outbreak of the Civil War he became colonel of a volunteer regiment, and at the battle of Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861, he was killed in action.

### Breckenridge-Baker Debate on the War

The text is abridged from *The Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, First Session, pp. 376-380.

[1] *Does not the world know it?* When all is in doubt and the future dark, such asseveration seems unanswerable. At such times it needs a brave man to make a courageous reply.

[2] *In favor of peace,* etc. Bereavement, hunger, expense, as noted by Breckenridge, are the inevitable accompaniments of war, but are not arguments concerning the justice of the dispute or its necessity. Did the use of these ideas help Breckenridge to accomplish his purpose?

[3] *A sneer of incredulity.* This is an interesting snapshot of the faces of his audience.

[4] *The Senator from Vermont.* Senator Collamer had opposed the bill because he believed that the commanding general ought to be left utterly free to conduct military affairs without any regulation on the part of Congress.

[5] *Capitol of the Confederacy.* In *Twenty Years in Congress,* vol. I, p. 344, Blaine says, "Breckenridge made a speech of which it is a fair criticism to say that it reflected in all respects the views held by the Confederate Congress then in session in Richmond."

[6] *Knowing their value well.* Logical argument cannot cope with the emotional and persuasive force of words such as these.

## JOHN BRIGHT

John Bright was born in Greenbank, Rochedale, England in 1811. Unlike most celebrated orators he had little education

other than that gained by experience, for at the age of fifteen he started his business career in his father's factory. In 1832 he championed the Liberal cause in the reform movement and seven years later attained prominence as a member of the Anti-Corn Law League. In this campaign he became the close friend and associate of Richard Cobden, the inspiring genius of the Free Trade movement. In 1843 Bright was elected to Parliament and immediately advocated the extension of free trade. During the War of the Crimea, Bright opposed the government in its course, and as a result was defeated in the city of Manchester in 1857. He immediately found ardent supporters in Birmingham and was returned to Parliament as representative of that city. During the American Civil War he defended the cause of the North and was largely responsible for the fact that England did not, like France recognize the independence of the Confederacy. In 1882 he resigned his seat in the cabinet because of lack of agreement with Mr. Gladstone, the prime minister, in regard to the bombardment of Alexandria. The remaining years of his life were spent in comparative retirement, and in 1889 he died.

## The Trent Affair

The text is abridged from p. 167 of vol I of *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*, by John Bright, 2 vols., London, 1868.

[1] *All up in arms.* When the news of the capture of the commissioners reached England, a great outburst of anger overspread the kingdom and the government began making preparations for war. Great quantities of munitions were shipped to Canada. Thirty thousand soldiers were put on board ship with the understanding that they were to go to Charlestown to join the Confederates. In reality they were sent to Halifax.

[2] *If all other tongues are silent.* With such statements Bright was able to secure sympathy for his position and to dull the criticism that his views were not representative.

John Lothrop Motley, the historian, wrote to Bright as follows: "When I first read your speech at Rochdale, I wished to write and thank you for it at once. But I found myself too agitated to do so. I laid it aside for two days, and I have just now read it all through again. I should perhaps have been inclined to dwell more, in writing to you, upon the breadth and accuracy of view, the thorough grasp of the subject and

the lucid flow of argument by which your speech was characterized; but the peculiar circumstances under which it was delivered make it impossible for me to express my emotions in any other way than in one grand burst of gratitude to the speaker. Thank God! our noble mother tongue is not entirely given over to revilings and denunciations of those who speak it beyond the sea And I honor you more than I can tell, for your courage in thus standing up, in the midst of the tempest of unreasoning wrath now sweeping over England, to defend not in unpopular but apparently a hated cause."

## HENRY WARD BEECHER

Henry Ward Beecher was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, June 24, 1813. In 1834 he was graduated from Amherst College, and three years later from the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, of which his father Lyman Beecher, was president. He entered the ministry as pastor of a church at Lawrenceberg, Indiana, and later removed to Indianapolis. In 1847, he became pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, which under his leadership became, next to Old South Church, Boston, the historic church of America.

During the Civil War Mr. Beecher was an ardent abolitionist and Unionist. In 1863 he travelled in England on behalf of the North, and delivered five memorable addresses. Although he met with opposition during the delivery of the first three of his addresses, the reception given to the fourth was by far the stormiest. Placards denouncing him had been generously distributed in Liverpool where he was to speak, and at least half the audience were opposed to his views. By means of this speech, however, he succeeded in changing the sentiments of almost all England even though he failed to win the particular audience. Consequently when he appeared in London, October 20, 1863, Exeter Hall was so crowded he could hardly enter. Instead of opposition he met with sympathy. During the four days since his speech at Liverpool, England had experienced a great change of heart. British sentiment now favored him, and his last address at London was little short of a triumph. The persuasive power of his speeches has probably never been excelled. Certainly few men ever by their words accomplished more for their country.

In addition to his work as preacher and orator, he was for years the editor of *The Christian Union* and *The New York*

*Independent.* In 1886 he again travelled in England, and was royally entertained as the ambassador from the hearts of a friendly people. On March 8, 1887, he died.

### Beecher's Speech at Liverpool

The text is abridged from p. 515 of *Patriotic Addresses in America and England,* by Henry Ward Beecher, Ed. John R. Howard, New York, 1887.

*Mason and Dixon's line:* a line determining the boundary of Maryland, located in 1763 by two surveyors from whom it was named. It later marked the division between the free and the slave states.

[2] *Morrill tariff.* This tariff, passed in 1861, greatly increased duties. In order to produce funds for war, its rates were raised twice in one year. Its provisions were extremely distasteful to manufacturing interests in England. Even Bright called it, "the monstrous and absurd tariff."

[3] *Recent doctrine of neutrality.* The position of neutrality which England had assumed was defended on the ground that foreign powers could not respect the Federal blockade of the Southern ports without recognizing that a state of war between two sovereign states existed. In 1831, however, Russia had blockaded her own ports held by Circassian rebels and England did not acknowledge the belligerent rights of the rebels.

[4] *Lord Russell.* Lord John Russell, the foreign secretary, used his influence consistently in favor of the cause of the North. While the official government of England did little in a direct way to aid the North, it did much indirectly. Although there were Englishmen, like Lord Palmerston, who espoused the cause of the Confederacy, there were in every English town men who, like John Bright, used every means at their command throughout the war to help America free the slaves and preserve the Union.

[5] *Against a storm.* Every orator who attempts to influence an audience encounters opposition which, even if not apparent, seeks to make his words ineffective Seldom, indeed, is opposition as tangible and evident as that which Beecher met while delivering this speech.

[6] *Strive with my voice.* The speech with interruptions had occupied three hours.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

### Speech at the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg

The text here used is that made by Lincoln for the Soldiers and Sailors' Fair at Baltimore in 1864. It can be found in a pamphlet known as *The Address of the Hon. Edward Everett at the National Cemetery of Gettysburg, November 19, 1863, with the Dedicatory Speech of President Lincoln and Other Exercises of the Occasion,* Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1864.

[1] *A great battle-field.* Every year thousands of American citizens make a pilgrimage to the spot, now marked with a bronze memorial, where this address was first delivered. Near the cemetery on the battle ground is a national park of unique interest.

### Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

The text is taken from *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln,* vol. II, p. 656, New York, 1894.

This speech was delivered but six weeks before Lincoln's death; but in one sense these weeks were the best of his life. His *Second Inaugural* address had confirmed the reputation that had come with the Gettysburg speech. It was called the greatest state paper of the century. Scholars and critics in Europe and America testified that the former backwoodsman had become one of the foremost writers of English in the world. He was hailed everywhere as chief among patriots and statesmen. His high hopes for the future were also realized. On April 1 Sherman defeated the Confederates at Five Forks. The next day Grant won at Petersburg; and the day following, Richmond fell. On April 9 Lee surrendered at Appomattox and the Confederacy was beaten.

As Lincoln's funeral train in the latter part of April passed through the chief cities of the East on its progress toward Springfield, banners were hung in every town bearing the words with which Lincoln began the last paragraph of this speech—"With malice for none, with charity for all."

## HENRY W. GRADY

Henry Woodfin Grady was born at Athens, Georgia, May 24, 1850. After completing his education at the universities of Georgia and Virginia, he entered upon his life work, journalism.

After serving for several years as a correspondent and editor of several papers, he became part owner and editor of *The Atlanta Constitution.* In 1886 at the annual dinner of the New England Society in New York City, he delivered his address called *The New South.* The next morning, his speech occupied the chief place in the newspapers, and parts of it were reprinted all over the country. This sudden fame encouraged Grady to make many other addresses on similar topics. In this dual capacity of speaker and editor, he used his influence to eradicate the last traces of prejudice that lingered between the North and the South as a result of the Civil War. He died December 23, 1889.

### The New South

The text in full is found at page 7 of *The Complete Orations and Speeches of Henry W. Grady,* edited by Edwin D. Shurter, no date, Norwood. The version used here follows in most respects that used in *Select Orations,* ed. A. M. Hall, New York, 1911.

[1] *Benjamin H. Hill.* Benjamin Harvey Hill was born in 1823 and died in 1882. In 1861, in the Georgia state convention to discuss secession, he spoke with great power in favor of Georgia's remaining in the Union. Nevertheless he went with his friends into the Confederate army. After the war was over he was imprisoned for at time at Fort Lafayette in New York harbor. Later he became a patriotic and useful member of the United States Senate.

[2] *Tammany Hall* is located at 145 East Fourteenth street, New York City. It is the meeting place of the Tammany society, an important organization in the Democratic party.

[3] *Dr. Talmage.* Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, D.D., was famous as lecturer and as pastor of the Brooklyn Tabernacle Presbyterian Church. His somewhat sensational sermons were widely published.

[4] *Ashes left us in 1864.* Atlanta at the beginning of the Civil War was strongly fortified by the Confederates and was defended first by General Johnston and then by General Hood. It was captured by Sherman in September, 1864, and as a consequence of military operations was nearly destroyed by fire.

[5] *The South has nothing to take back.* One might well consider it difficult to induce a Northern audience in 1886 to accept that view. Through what logic or new evidence could the

speaker hope to reconcile the conflicting opinions of the North and the South? Grady's statement might well be considered the opening sally in a fierce dispute and better suited to arouse enmity than to win reconciliation. Such would have been the case had the orator proceeded to debate the justice of his cause. He was content, however, to lay argument aside and to rely on persuasion. When he referred to sentiments universal among men and wakened in his audience a common love for country, home, and family, he and his hearers met on ground where there was no difference of opinion, and the irreconcilable conflict was forgotten.

[6] *A name dear to me.* The father of the speaker, Colonel Grady, was born in North Carolina but became a prominent business man in Athens, Georgia. He entered the Confederate army and was killed while leading his regiment in a charge at Petersburg.

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-fifth president of the United States, was born in New York City in 1858. Shortly after his graduation from Harvard University, he became a member of the New York state legislature. He subsequently held several important public offices, including that of police commissioner of New York City, and member of the United States Civil Service Commission. In 1898 he resigned as assistant secretary of the navy to organize a volunteer cavalry regiment which later became famous as the "Rough Riders." At the conclusion of the Spanish American War, he was elected governor of New York State, and in 1900 was elected vice-president of the United States. In September, 1901, at the death of President William McKinley, Roosevelt became president; and in 1904 by vote of the people was returned to the same office. In 1912 he broke away from the Republican party and ran for the presidency on the Progressive ticket, but was defeated by Woodrow Wilson. He subsequently engaged in literary work and took an active part in public affairs. At the beginning of the war he espoused the side of the allies; and when the United States entered the contest, offered to raise and equip a regiment. He died suddenly on January 6, 1919.

History will credit to the public life of Theodore Roosevelt the aid he gave to downtrodden wage-earners, his advocacy of military preparedness, and his ideal that with men and na-

ions expanded influence implies enlarged duty. As a private citizen he will be remembered for his joy in living, his cheerful optimism, the gentleness of his family life, and the warmth of his friendship. The breadth of his sympathy is shown in the fact that during his presidency the White House was the resort alike of philosophers and theologians, and of prize-fighters and Rough Riders. He preferred to win through contest rather than compromise. His adherence to the side of justice and his moral and physical courage were never in doubt. His political opponents commended his sincerity and manliness. Before his death he was known both at home and abroad as "America's first citizen."

## The Strenuous Life

The text is abridged from *The Strenuous Life,* The Century Company, New York, 1902.

Observe the means taken by the speaker in the first two paragraphs to secure the benevolent attention of his audience.

[1] *Our army needs complete reorganization.* It is said that we won the war with Spain not because of our military efficiency, but because decrepit Spain was poorer than we. Many of the principal officers of our army not only had had no experience in the field with large bodies of men but were also physically unable to endure the hardships of a campaign. Late in Roosevelt's last term as president he directed that each army officer should prove his ability to walk fifty miles in three days or ride one hundred. As his order was bitterly opposed by the army and by the press, the President gave an illustration of the strenuous life by riding on horseback over one hundred miles in a single day.

[2] *Ignoble peace.* In his *Autobiography* Roosevelt says there are men who put peace ahead of righteousness and "who seek to make the United States impotent for international good under the pretense of making us impotent for international evil. All the men of this kind, and all the organizations they have controlled, since we began our career as a nation, all put together, have not accomplished one hundredth part as much for both peace and righteousness, have not done one hundredth part as much either for ourselves or for other peoples, as was accomplished by the people of the United States when they fought the war with Spain, and with resolute good faith and

commonsense worked out the solution of the problems which sprang from the war."

[3] *The domination of the world.* While President Roosevelt may not have had the German nation definitely in mind, it is true that it was even then using every means to extend its empire and was very jealous of the expansion of other powers.

## HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH

The Right Honorable Herbert Henry Asquith was born at Morley, Yorkshire, England, September 12, 1852. He was educated at the City of London School and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1886 he was elected member of Parliament for East Fife and holds that office to this day. In 1892 he was appointed secretary of state for the Home Department and ecclesiastical commissioner. He held both these offices for three years. From 1905 to 1908 he was chancellor of the exchequer, and in the latter year became First Lord of the Treasury and prime minister. When war was declared he heroically took the responsibility for its management on his own shoulders by becoming secretary of state for war. Although he subsequently gave way to David Lloyd-George he was generally recognized by his friends and opponents alike as a stalwart supporter of the war and as one of the master leaders in the United Kingdom.

### The Call to Arms

The text is found in *The New York Times Current History of the European War,* vol. I, No. 2, pp. 309-313. It has been slightly abbreviated.

One cannot but admire the spirit that animates this speech when one remembers that it was spoken before the Germans were checked in the battle of the Marne.

[1] *Eirencon.* A measure for securing peace. The proposed arbitration treaties were at that time under discussion. The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was assured but not finally revised, approved, and signed by both nations until October 8, 1914. It provided that matter in dispute between the two nations must be referred to an international commission for investigation. It also bound each nation not to enter upon hostilities before receiving a report from the commission. Similar treaties were made by the United States with nearly all other civilized powers except Germany which declined to be so bound.

[2] *The sack of Louvain.* At Louvain in addition to the outrages that marked the progress of the Germans through Belgium, they destroyed the beautiful cathedral and burned the library with its priceless manuscripts.

[3] *Sir Edward Grey.* For an account of what Lord Grey, secretary of foreign relations, had accomplished for the world's peace before the beginning of the Great War, see *Europe's Ablest Diplomat,* an article in *Harpers Weekly* for May 3, 1913. In 1914 when Austria delivered her ultimatum to Servia, Grey at once sought to have the difference submitted to arbitration. On July 27 he proposed that France, Italy, Germany, and Russia meet in London in conference. Germany declined. He then proposed that Austria and Russia confer; and Austria declined. He next suggested that Austria occupy Belgrade and the neighboring territory as a pledge for a satisfactory settlement on the part of the powers. On July 29 he announced that as far as England was concerned, mediation was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought possible.

[4] *Who do not mean to separate.* On the very day that this speech was delivered England, France, and Russia, signed a treaty binding each not to conclude a separate peace.

[5] *The children of the empire.* The relations between the colonies and the Mother Country may well be contrasted with that existing during the premiership of Lord North, minister of George III to whom clung German traditions. The filial response of the children of the empire far surpassed Edmund Burke's most hopeful dreams.

[6] *Mobilization was ordered.* Only a month had passed since war was declared, but the response to the call for volunteers had been such as to upset all the German calculations and to make a victory at the Marne a possibility.

[7] *Absolutely assured of reinstatement.* Such expressions indicate how little statesmen realized the possible extent and duration of the war.

## WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson was born at Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856. His early life was spent in the South. In 1879 he was graduated from Princeton College, and two years later was graduated in law from the University of Virginia. After a brief experience in law he studied at Johns Hopkins University.

His thesis for the doctorate, *Congressional Government,* was his first important writing.

In 1890 he became professor of history at Princeton, and in 1902 was made president of the university. In 1910 he was elected governor of New Jersey—the first Democrat to hold that office in sixteen years. In 1912, he was chosen for the presidency of the United States, and in 1916 was re-elected. On each occasion he filled the high office with distinction. Besides his rare insight as statesman, President Wilson has unusual ability as a master of prose style. In these days of almost countless political documents of world-wide importance, the pronouncements of the President are generally accorded first place, both for their form and for their sober wisdom.

### Message to Congress, April 2, 1917

The text is taken from *How the War Came to America,* a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, 1918.

[1] *Extraordinary session.* The session was extraordinary in the sense that it was a special session. The regular session met the first Monday in December.

[2] *Constitutionally permissible.* The president cannot declare war as the Constitution specifically gives that power to Congress.

[3] *Its promise then given us.* The President refers to the pledge given in answer to our protests at the sinking of the *Sussex* that in the future Germany would not sink merchant vessels without warning and an opportunity for those on board to escape. Germany's attempt to avoid responsibility for this pledge by making it contingent on Great Britain's not continuing the blockade was thwarted by President Wilson's note of May 8, 1916, in which he stated that the United States could not consider the promise in any way contingent on the actions of any other country; and as Germany made no reply, consent was understood in accordance with the usages of international law.

[4] *Ships have been sunk.* Five American ships had been sunk in the previous two months. Two hundred and twenty-six Americans had lost their lives, one hundred and fourteen of whom perished in the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

[5] *Make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are.* This President Wilson was most successful in accomplishing. Cardinal Mercier, on Memorial Day, 1919, well

expressed the common understanding of America's aim. "Glorious America went into the war, unurged by any political or material interests; without any idea of territorial conquest or vengeance, and gave the world a magnificent proof of strength and energy. With an improvised army, attaining immediately to the perfection of those created by traditions of discipline, military science, and strategy.

"In days gone by, knights would bring swords before the altar and beg God's blessing. The Pontiff would answer their call, saying, 'If I die here, never wound man unjustly; defend all that is right and all that is true.' Then the knight, three times brandishing his naked sword, and the Pontiff giving him the kiss of peace would say, 'Peace be with you.'

"Three times within little more than a century have the sons of the Great Republic drawn sword from the sheath for liberty. Three times also it has given them victory. In 1776, George Washington with the help of Lafayette, conquered for Independence. In 1865, Abraham Lincoln drew asunder the chains of slavery. On the second of April, 1917, your President called forth the members of Congress and spoke those important words that right is more precious than peace."

[6] *The old, unhappy days.* Wordsworth says the solitary reaper sang a ballad on

> "old, unhappy, far-off things,
> And battles long ago.."

[7] *The intercepted note.* He refers to the Zimmerman note of January 19, 1917, in which Mexico was notified of the coming of unrestricted submarine warfare and was offered an alliance with Germany. Mexico was to attempt to secure the aid of Japan and was to invade the United States in the hope of conquering Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Germany was to assist the operations financially. The American Pro-German press immediately branded the note as a forgery, but Germany not only acknowledged the genuineness of the note but defended it.

[8] *She can do no other.* President Wilson closes his address with an adaptation of a German sentiment that has come down from better days. The reference is to the closing words of Martin Luther's eloquent refusal to retract before the Diet of Worms, "Here stand I. God helping me I can do no other."

## DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE

The Right Honorable David Lloyd-George was born at Manchester, England, in 1863. After completing his studies at the Llanystymdwy Church School he became in 1884 a solicitor. In 1905 he became president of the Board of Trade; and, during the three years he held that office, distinguished himself for executive ability and breadth of vision. In 1908 he succeeded Mr. Asquith as chancellor of the exchequer, and in 1916 when the Liberal ministry came into power he succeeded Asquith as prime minister. Although beset by many perplexing problems Lloyd-George maintained his ministry through his tact in carrying on the government and his success in waging a victorious war.

### The Meaning of America's Entrance into the War

The text is taken slightly abbreviated from *The New York Times* of April 13, 1917.

[1] *Monarchical swashbucklers.* A swashbuckler is a bully; or a swaggering, boasting fellow.

[2] *Three wars all of conquest.* Germany fought in 1864 with Denmark; in 1866, with Austria; and in 1870, with France.

[3] *That victory on Monday.* On Monday, April 9, 1917, occurred the battle of Vimy Ridge.

## WOODROW WILSON

### The Flag Day Speech

The text is taken from *How the War Came to America,* a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, 1918.

[1] *Flag Day.* The flag of the United States was formally adopted by Congress on June 14, 1777. The governor of New York State in 1897 first officially recommended the celebration of the anniversary as an incentive to patriotism. The day is now observed throughout the nation.

[2] *It has no other character than what we give it.* The form of this statement was probably influenced by Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane's speech on *The Makers of the Flag.* The following sentences in which the flag is represented as speaking, are quoted from the speech. "I am whatever you

make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become. I am the day's work of the weakest man and the largest dream of the most daring. I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and the statute-makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk. I am what you make me, nothing more."

[3] *The German government itself here in our own Capital.* Count J. H. von Bernstoff, the German ambassador to the United States, with the help of Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, directed German propaganda in America. Bernstoff was connected with the Zimmerman note. On January 22, 1917, he asked the German foreign office for $50,000, with which to try to influence Congress, and he was in communication with agents who undertook sabotage. Dr. Constantin Dumba, the Austrian ambassador to the United States, was vigorously engaged in fomenting labor troubles. His activity in this direction was first definitely established through one of his letters that fell into British hands.

[4] *The guns of German warships.* At the beginning of the war the German cruisers, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau,* took refuge in the Dardanelles. Instead of interning these ships in accordance with international law, the Turkish government—then ostensibly neutral—pretended to buy them.

[5] *Our ancient tradition of isolation.* This marks an advance into participation in world politics beyond even that advocated by President Roosevelt at the time of the Spanish-American War.

## OTTO H. KAHN

Otto H. Kahn was born in Mannheim, Germany, February 21, 1867. His early life was spent in that city and there he received a college education and was enrolled for one year in the German army. After learning banking in Germany, he spent five years in London in a branch of the Deutsche Bank. In August, 1893, he came to America and took up his residence in New York where he became identified with American social and commercial life. Although perhaps best known as a member of Kuhn, Loeb, & Company and as a director of several trust and railroad corporations, he has nevertheless generously devoted himself to the promotion of numerous artistic and literary movements. In the field of music he has served his fellow citizens as chairman of the Metropolitan and Century

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Opera companies, and has assisted several other musical organizations both in America and in England. His pen and voice have constantly championed the cause of democracy and social and political reform. He has looked to education to help solve many of the social problems of the day and has always been a generous supporter of such work. When the great problem of the world war presented itself to the American people, German born though he was, Mr. Kahn immediately took the side of justice and democracy against Prussian domination. His first hand knowledge of German conditions and his thorough-going Americanism enabled him to perform a unique service in mobilizing the loyalty of American citizens of German birth.

### Prussianized Germany

The text is taken from pp. 77-87, *Right above Race,* New York, 1918.

President Wilson has said: "I would not be afraid upon the test of 'America first' to take a census of all the foreign born citizens of the United States, for I know that the majority of them came here because they believed in America; and their belief in America made them better citizens than some people who were born in America. . . . I am not deceived as to the balance of opinion among the foreign born citizens of the United States, but I am in a hurry for an opportunity to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side, and all those that are for America, first, last, and all the time, on the other side."

[1] *The only road.* The German people were led astray through the substitution of propaganda for education; a return to their former happy condition could be effected only through revolution.

[2] *Only one course.* In *Where Do You Stand?* a book addressed to German-Americans, Herman Hagedorn writes as follows. "Where do you stand? The question has been put to nations and to men again and again since that tragic day in 1914 when the Great War began. Turkey and Bulgaria answered it in one way; Servia and Belgium, in another.

"We Americans of German origin stand at the cross-roads. If we step forth now, without hesitation, and without reserve for America and her cause, we will be regarded henceforth as Americans and nothing but Americans, loved and respected

more possibly than any other element in our population, because we have been put to the greatest test of all and have proved faithful to the Republic.

"I appeal to you because I am one of you. I have been torn as you are torn. I love German men and women and German forests and hills and songs as you love them. I too have a father in Germany; I too had a German mother; and I too have brothers fighting in Germany's armies. For a time my reason as well as my heart was with Germany's cause, and even after my reason would no longer let me hope for Germany's triumph, for a time my heart was still rebelliously thrilled at the news of a German victory.

"And I say to you most solemnly, the time has come for us all who are of German origin to stand forth and individually and collectively, publicly declare ourselves.

"I am against Germany. I wish to see my country victorious and Germany defeated. To the fulfilment of this wish, I pledge my hands, my heart, and my spirit."

## WOODROW WILSON

### President Wilson's Address at Baltimore

The text of this speech is taken from *The Brooklyn Eagle* of April 7, 1918.

[1] *This is the anniversary.* Congress declared war on April 6, 1917.

[2] *The nation is awake.* Unity of sentiment and unity of action were at last found throughout the nation.

[3] *Are ready to lend to the utmost.* The first Liberty Loan was opened on June 15, 1917. $2,000,000,000 was offered at 3½ per cent and $3,035,226,850 was subscribed. The second loan came on October 27, 1917. The amount asked was $3,000,000,000 at 4 per cent and $4,617,532,300 was subscribed. The loan offered on April 6, 1917, the day of this speech, was for $5,000,000,000 at 4¼ per cent. $4,170,019,650 was subscribed. The fact that seventeen million people subscribed not less than fifty dollars each for the third loan indicates the sense of personal responsibility that animated the American nation in the second year of American participation in the Great War.

[4] *The man who knows least can now see plainly.* Note the confident, optimistic tone of the speaker. He knows that a united nation stands behind him.

[5] *They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph.* On December 15, 1917, as a result of generous promises on the part of Germany, an armistice was signed between the Central Powers and the Bolsheviki government of Russia at Brest-Litovsk. In the parley that followed Germany rapidly withdrew the reasonable advances that she had made at first. Not only did Germany refuse to evacuate Russian occupied territory, but she refused to allow the Russian people to determine their own form of government and political affiliations. Russia, moreover, was to be obligated to indemnify Germany for war losses, but the latter would not be expected to repay Russia for damages done in the war.

[6] *Force to the utmost.* America mobilized 4,272,521 men. Of these over 2,000,000 were sent to France. At the time the armistice was signed the United States possessed the largest army on the western front except that of France.

## CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Charles Evans Hughes, the son of Reverend David D. Hughes, a Baptist clergyman, was born in Glens Falls, New York, in 1862. After his graduation from Brown University he took up the study of law in preparation for his subsequent practice in New York City. While engaged in this profession he came into national prominence as a special investigator of the irregular practices of the large life insurance corporations. The public admiration he won for himself in this investigation sent him in 1907 to the governor's chair at Albany.

His administration as governor was characterized by aggressive but sound legislation. Among other reforms that he urged was the abolishment of commercialized race-track gambling. In 1909 he was reëlected as governor but resigned the following year to accept an appointment from President Taft as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1916 he accepted the Republican nomination for president. With the assistance of both Theodore Roosevelt and Ex-president Taft he tried to lead the Republican party to victory, but was unsuccessful. During the World War, as chairman of the board appointed to administer the Selective Service Act, he gave his country efficient aid in enforcing the draft.

In 1920 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Harding. In spite of the difficulties occasioned by a marked

change of national policy he administered the complex affairs of this important office so successfully as to win both the plaudits of his countrymen and the respect and confidence of European statesmen. Mr. Balfour said in nominating him for chairman of the conference for the limitation of armament that Secretary Hughes was fitted for the great and responsible duty by capacity, character, courtesy, and experience. His private and public life have been so admirable that his opponents, even in the heat of political controversy, are inclined rather to attack his policies than attempt to dispute either his ability or character.

## Limitation of Armament

The text is that found in the daily papers of November 13, 1921.

[1] *Discernible sources of controversy.* Differences of opinion concerning the rights of oriental labor, the reputed ambition of Japan to control the islands of the Pacific, opportunities for trade with China, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the location of cable and naval stations, had at times been considered possible causes of war between the United States and other countries.

[2] *The Far Eastern questions.* On December 13, 1921, representatives of Japan, Great Britain, France, and the United States signed a four power treaty in which they engaged for ten years to coöperate peacefully in the Pacific. In case of controversy they agreed to meet in conference to determine upon appropriate action.

[3] *The cost of victory.* Ten million lives were lost in the World War, two hundred and fifty billion dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and the national debts of the principal countries rose from forty-three billion dollars in 1913 to three hundred and eighty-two billion dollars in 1920. Because of the war the German debt increased fifty fold; the United States debt, twenty-four fold; the British debt, twelve fold; the French debt, eight fold; and the Italian debt, six fold.

[4] *A matter of vital necessity.* Great Britain's expense for her navy rose from $150,000,000 in 1907 to $1,670,000,000 in 1918; and during the same period the annual naval expense of the United States increased from $100,000,000 to $1,800,000,000. It is expected that the Hughes plan will save a total of $600,000,000 a year for the three countries concerned.

[5] *With the acceptance of this plan.* The concrete plan which Secretary Hughes laid before the conference at this point in his address is as follows:

The United States is now completing its program of 1916 calling for ten new battleships and six battle cruisers. One battleship has been completed. The others are in various stages of construction; in some cases from sixty to eighty per cent. of the construction has been done. On these fifteen capital ships now being built over $330,000,000 have been spent. Still the United States is willing, in the interest of an immediate limitation of naval armaments, to scrap all these ships.

The United States proposes, if this plan is accepted:

(1) To scrap all capital ships now under construction. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and in the course of building, and two battleships launched.

The total number of new capital ships thus to be scrapped is fifteen. The total tonnage of the new capital ships when completed would be 618,000 tons.

(2) To scrap all of the older battleships up to, but not including, the *Delaware* and *North Dakota*. The number of these old battleships to be scrapped is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

Thus the number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is thirty, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons.

The plan contemplates that Great Britain and Japan shall take action which is fairly commensurate with this action on the part of the United States.

It is proposed that Great Britain:

(1) Shall stop further construction of the four new Hoods, the new capital ships not laid down, but upon which money has been spent. The four ships, if completed, would have a tonnage displacement of 172,000 tons.

(2) Shall, in addition, scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second line battleships and first line battleships up to, but not including the *King George V.* class.

These, with certain pre-dreadnoughts which it is understood have already been scrapped, would amount to nineteen capital ships and a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons.

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great

Britain (including the tonnage of the four Hoods, if completed) would be 583,375 tons.

It is proposed that Japan:

(1) Shall abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, viz., the *K-11, Owari,* No. 7 and No. 8, battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, battle cruisers.

It should be observed that this does not involve the stopping of construction, as the construction of none of these ships has been begun.

(2) Shall scrap three capital ships (the *Mutsu,* launched; the *Tosa,* the *Kago,* in course of building), and four battle cruisers (the *Amagi* and *Akagi,* in course of building, and the *Atoga* and *Takao,* not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled).

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped under this paragraph is seven. The total tonnage of these new capital ships, when completed, would be 289,130 tons.

(3) Shall scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and battleships of the second line. This would include the scrapping of all ships up to, but not including, the *Settsu;* that is, the scrapping of ten old ships, with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons.

The total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down or for which material has been assembled (taking the tonnage of the new ships when completed) would be 448,928 tons.

Thus, under this plan, there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three powers, sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043.

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement, shall consist of certain ships, designated in the proposal, and number for the United States 18, for Great Britain 22, for Japan 10.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States 500,650, of Great Britain 604,450, of Japan 299,700. In reaching this result the age factor in the case of the respective navies has reached appropriate consideration.

With respect to replacement, the United States proposes:

(1) That it be agreed that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement.

(2) That replacements be limited by an agreed maximum of capital ship tonnage as follows:

For the United States, 500,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 500,000 tons.

For Japan, 300,000 tons.

(3) That, subject to the ten year limitation above fixed and the maximum standard, capital ships may be replaced when they are twenty years old by new capital ship construction.

(4) That no capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

I have sketched the proposal only in outline, leaving the technical details to be supplied by the formal proposition, which is ready for submission to the delegates.

The plan includes provision for the limitation of auxiliary surface combatant craft. This term embraces three classes, that is:

(1) Auxiliary surface combatant craft, such as cruisers (exclusive of battle cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers, and various surface types; (2) submarines and (3) airplane carriers.

On December 15, 1921, the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan signed the so-called 5-5-3 Three Power naval agreement. It practically reproduced the Hughes plan; but it permitted the completion of the *North Dakota* and the *Delaware* by the United States and two super-Hoods by Great Britain. Japan was released from destroying the sentiment-financed *Mutsu* which was built with yen and sen from the pockets of the poor.

On February 6, 1922, the representatives of the conferring powers solemnly signed treaties concerning the limitation of naval armament, the specification of national rights in the Pacific, the restriction of the use of poison gas and submarines in warfare, and the maintenance of native rule in China. The conference then came to an end.

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